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22 MARCH 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-012

### CONTENTS

22 MARCH 1988

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

RSFSR Obkom Chiefs Discuss Restructuring .....	1
Volgograd Obkom [V. Kalashnikov; PRAVDA, 22 Dec 87] .....	1
Sverdlovsk Obkom [Yu. Petrov; PRAVDA, 5 Jan 88] .....	2
Poltava First Secretary F.T. Morgun Addresses Obkom Plenum [V. Muzychenko, V. Chmara; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 9 Jan 88] .....	5
Zakarpatskiy Obkom Plenum Addresses Spread of Religious Beliefs [Ya. Oleynichenko; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 22 Dec 87] .....	8
UkSSR Crimean Obkom Chiefs Discuss Restructuring [A. Gorobets; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 16 Dec 87] ....	10
UkSSR Chernovtsy Obkom Plenum Scores Party Officials, Organs [V. Tsybul'skiy; PRAVDA, 24 Dec 87] .....	12
BSSR Grodno Obkom Scores Party Officials For Shortcomings [G. Vladimirova; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 26 Jan 88] .....	15
BSSR CP CC Meets With Raykom, Gorkom First Secretaries [PRAVDA, 2 Jan 88] .....	18
Masaliyev on Kirghiz Nationality Issues, Religious Influence [A.M. Masaliyev; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 6 Dec 87] .....	20
Kirghiz CP Resolution on Improving Party Membership Rules [SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 12 Dec 87] .....	32
Uzbek Officials Ousted from Party in Corruption Probe [V. Artemenko; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 22 Dec 87] .....	35
Tajik CC Buro Addresses Issue of 'Regionalism' in Rayon [KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 12 Jan 88] .....	37
IZVESTIYA Criticizes Ashkhabad Oblast's Agricultural Work [V. Kuleshov; IZVESTIYA, 22 Dec 87] ....	39
Mary Oblast Criticized .....	41
Plenum Participants Hit Work Style [I. Katruk; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 25 Dec 87] .....	41
SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Stresses Violations [F. Mustafayev, L. Kononova; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 5 Jan 88] .....	42
Groz'u Demands Improvement in Patriotic Upbringing of Youth [ATEM; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 31 Dec 87] .....	44
Republic-level Officials Censured in Georgian Housing Probe .....	46
BSSR Sup Sov Concerned About Citizens Legal Rights .....	47

#### MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

Official Notes Needed Improvements in Kazakh Radio, TV Quality [V. Krylov; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 6 Dec 87] .....	48
Tajik Radio Faulted in Service to Rural Audience [T. Dzhurabayev; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 19 Dec 87] .....	50
Iranian, Afghan Turkmen Groups "Complicate" Anti-Islamic Propaganda .....	52

#### HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

Historical Accuracy Urged for New Uzbek Reference Works [G. Trapeznikov; KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA, No 11, Nov 87] .....	53
Article Fuels False Rumors About Soviet Occupation Of Baltic [U. Khelme; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 10 Dec 87] .....	58

## RELIGION

Call for Greater Activity in Atheist Propaganda Among Muslims [Editorial; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 10 Jan 88]	60
Lithuanian Church-State Cooperation Lauded	61
Church Leaders Meet with Supreme Soviet [TIESA, 10 Feb 88]	61
Readers Pleased With Church-State Cooperation, Openness on Afghanistan [TIESA, 12 Feb 88]	61
Rayon Newspaper Fights Religious Cults	61
Iran Radio Pushes Pan-Islam in Krasnovodsk Rayon	62
Eminent Scholar Saidbayev Criticized As Being "Apologist for Islam"	62
Collection of Old Believers' books Donated to USSR Academy of Sciences	63

## CULTURE

Publication of Bulgakov's Works Debated	64
Domestic Academic Edition Urged [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 22 Nov 87]	64
OGONEK Readers Respond	65
Commission Head Clarifies Plans [A. Karaganov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 13 Jan 88]	66
Rybakov's Portrait of Stalin Questioned for Historical Accuracy [V. Murzakov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 19 Dec 87]	67
Critic Finds Shatrov's "Brest Peace" Dealing "Loosely" with Facts [G. Melikants; IZVESTIYA, 27 Dec 87]	69
Academic Reviews Novel on Cultural Preservation in Ukraine [P. Tolochko; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 12 Nov 87]	72
Soldier Advocates Wider Employment of Belorussian Language	75

## SOCIAL ISSUES

Izvestiya Discusses Homelessness, Vagrancy [A. Plutnik; IZVESTIYA, 13 Feb 88]	76
Militiamen Deal With Mishandling of Radioactive Substances [N. Savelyev; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 16 Jan 88]	80
Causes of Female Suicide Attempts in Uzbekistan Engender Concern	82
Social Tradition Seen As Cause [E. Gafarov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 6 Jan 88]	82
Uzbek Supreme Soviet Responds [UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 27 Jan 88]	84
Tajik Procuracy Polls Consumers on Unethical Trade Practices [N. Kozlova; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 12 Jan 88]	86
First Ukrainian Law Code Ready for Publication [V.I. Zaychuk; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 18 Dec 87]	87
Progress on Teaching Second Language in Latvian Schools Described [LATINFORM; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 15 Jan 88]	89
Fear of Reprisals Prompts Readers to Prefer Anonymity [RABOCHAYA GAZETA, 19 Dec 87]	94
Reader Laments Inability To Find Work in Armenia [V. Khinoyev; KOMMUNIST, 21 Feb 88 p 3]	95
KGB Mole Infiltrates Estonian Exile Organization in Sweden	95
Urban Migration Impedes Rural Development	97

## REGIONAL ISSUES

Sarkisyan On Armenian Ecological, Nuclear Power Issues [F.T. Sarkisyan; KOMMUNIST, 24 Dec 87]	98
Effect of Glasnost on Corruption, Literature, Emigration in Armenia [Perch Zeytuntsyan; SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, 23 Dec 87]	103
Arpa-Sevan Water Tunnel Repair Completed [Armenpress; KOMMUNIST, 5 Jan 88]	106
UzSSR: Violent Crime Against Vehicle Owners Sparks Concern [R.F. Tagirov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 24 Dec 87]	107

## RSFSR Obkom Chiefs Discuss Restructuring

### Volgograd Obkom

18000187a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 87p 2

[Interview with V. Kalashnikov, first secretary, Volgograd Obkom of the CPSU: "Independence Plus Initiative"]

[Text] 1. What positive experience of restructuring has there been in your party organization after the 27th CPSU congress? 2. What kind of difficulties and problems are there in this work?

1. The main thing that distinguishes the work of party organizations today is the increased independence and initiative. Experience is understood to mean a search. Norms such as originality and creativity are affirmed in the work. Reciprocal demandingness is raised. The climate of mutual trust is also improved.

Volgograd Oblast—the land of spacious steppes—should be a region of highly productive agriculture. But this requires overcoming an age-old disease: the shortage of moisture. A fundamentally new agricultural system has been found in the creative cooperation of agrarian scientists and the oblast's progressive grain farmers. The area of irrigated land has increased by 140,000 hectares in 3 years. Notwithstanding the severe drought in recent years, the oblast is supplying itself with seed and feed which we no longer have shipped in from elsewhere in the region.

Industry's assistance to the countryside has become more active. Two years ago, the collective at the Volgograd Shipyard undertook to use economized metal for the production of modern "Fregat" irrigation machines for rural reclamation workers and floating pumping stations (the ones that were delivered to us were not enough). The party obkom supported the initiative which also found a response at other enterprises.

Rural workers are now interested in increasing output: after the fulfillment of the delivery quotas, the excess is used for local supply. And the excess is considerable. After receiving the right to sell their above-plan produce through the kolkhoz markets, oblast farms appreciably enriched the counters with good meat and dairy products and vegetables.

But take the social sphere where initiative is required in the approach to the effort. And party committees and primary party organizations are trying to develop it. There are 25 integrated target programs for the development of public education, health care, and culture in operation. The commissioning of housing increased 1.4-fold; last year, 30,000 apartments (1.3 million square meters) from all sources of financing were commissioned, half of them in rural regions. This year, 1.5

million meters will be built. It has been possible to use not only centralized investments and centrally allocated materials but also to mobilize internal resources for social needs.

The collective of the Volga Pipe Plant builds individual homes funded by the population. But what prevents other oblast cities from doing the same? Inertia and the fear of extra bother. Tsentralnyy Rayon leaders were heard at the buro. They analyzed matters, found that there were reserves and collectives where the workers wanted to engage in individual construction.

We have 24 large industrial enterprises operating under the new economic conditions. Of this number, only four are functioning rather well. Restructuring is difficult at the others. Analysis convinces us that the principal reason for the slow progress is that people are poorly prepared for the reform. We see time and time again how much depends on the manager. For example, G. Salnikov, the general director of the Volgogradneftemash science-production association, is an experienced man of principle. To him, business is the principal authority. If he has to, he will argue with the obkom first secretary or shake up a ministry. Today his enterprise is the leading one in the sector; 2 years ago, it was converted to self-financing as an experiment. Everything would have been fine except that the collective's social development fund received only 9.4 kopecks for every ruble of profit. Such was the ministry's behest. Gennadiy Alekskeyevich worked hard for the triumph of the idea of self-financing.

But here is another fact. Three managers were replaced in short succession at the Volgograd Oil Refinery. One of the reasons was that the comrades were afraid to assume responsibility and were very much disposed toward orders from "higher up." Swimming with the current today means going nowhere. Search and occasional risk are the distinguishing features of a true leader. And, of course, competence. These qualities are indispensable in the evaluation of cadres. The collectives themselves set the example for such an approach. At the local level, they can better see who is who. Leaders in the Mikhaylovskiy Rayon, for example, were surprised when members of the Rassvet Kolkhoz at a general meeting refused to extend their confidence to their now erstwhile chairman A. Desyaterik. After all, at one time he was a respected person, a deputy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. What happened? He started thinking he was irreplaceable. He began treating collective farmers rudely.

The competitive election of managers draws near. The best workers are nominated. The party committees are for it. It is incomprehensible why some ministries and their main administrations do not reckon with this fact.

Thus, the Yugovostokelektrosetstroy Trust was recently struck like a bolt from the blue by an order from the Ministry of Power and Electrification relieving the administrator. The workers disagreed and called upon the party obkom to leave their leader in his post. The



administrator was a businesslike person who knew how to draw support from the collective. During the five-year plan, the trust made appreciable progress. We helped to defend the collective's point of view.

New demands are also made on party workers. Not everyone is equal to these demands. A. Samko, first secretary of the Novoanninskiy Raykom, recently tendered his resignation. He is a conscientious official. What was his problem? He tried to resolve everything himself, down to the minutest detail.

We recently held a plenum that was devoted to hearing reports. In advance of the plenum, members of the party obkom were handed a questionnaire. What were the findings? Only a little over 60 percent of the respondents believed that the work of the party obkom and the members of its buro corresponds to the demands of restructuring. This means that we must step up the effort to improve the forms of our work. We see many shortcomings ourselves. A considerable amount of criticism and competent advice was heard at the plenum.

2. I have already named some of the difficulties. But more of them are still ahead and many of them are unquestionably associated with the conversion of industry to economic methods of management. They are the difficulties of growth. Already in the coming year, 70 percent of the output will be produced by enterprises operating under cost accounting conditions. While a great deal of preparatory work has been carried out in the collectives, not all workers and specialists have determined their place in this restructuring. Communists and primary party organizations must help them and must set the example. After all, both democratization and radical economic reform are above all explicitly the cause of our party.

The development of new relationships with the headquarters of sectors will require no little effort. For example, it is already obvious that the norms established by ministries for a number of enterprises will not promote the acceleration of reconstruction and technical retooling or the resolution of social problems.

There are numerous problems associated with restructuring in the countryside. Take the following problem: we have farms that are in the forefront (approximately 10 percent) and an equal number of lagging farms. And the rest? Middle-of-the-roaders. It is the latter that account for the bulk of the output. They, together with the lagging farms, must also make serious preparations for the introduction of full cost accounting. And the norms that are presently being formulated must also be oriented toward them. The imbalanced planning of purchases, material-technical resources, and investments is a practice that is ruinous to the countryside.

No little damage is inflicted by the "scissors" between the wholesale prices on industrial goods that are supplied to agriculture and the purchase prices on agricultural products.

Not can Volgogradsters fail to be disturbed by the disparity between the rates of construction of productive and social facilities. Capital investments in nonproductive construction currently have not increased but have dropped to 17 percent. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, for example, is planning only 10 percent of its total capital investments for the social sphere; the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry—7 percent. The situation is no better in the Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building. These departments essentially contradict the directives of the 27th Party Congress on increasing capital investments in social development. What is the result? Social problems are not resolved and enterprise capacities are poorly utilized (by only 80 [percent] and at newly built enterprises—even less). Is this good management?

#### Sverdlovsk Obkom

18000187b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88 p 2

[Interview with Yu. Petrov, first secretary, Sverdlovsk Obkom of the CPSU by V. Danilov, PRAVDA correspondent: "The Obkom and the Reform"]

[Text]—Sverdlovsk *The main concern of the Sverdlovsk Oblast party organization today is the conversion of industrial enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing. Oblast party committees have amassed a certain amount of experience directing the radical economic reform at the local level. Some of the enterprises were already operating under the new conditions last year and as of 1 January their number significantly increased.*

An important direction in the preparation of our collectives for the reform has become the examination of the combat readiness of primary party organizations. We conduct this examination with the aim of objectively evaluating our forces and activating them with the maximum effect. The forces are large—approximately 300,000 members and candidate members of the CPSU. If each of them becomes an active fighter for the fulfillment of the tasks advanced by the party, our causes and restructuring, including restructuring in the economic sphere, will go much faster. In the course of the examination, each communist is asked: what is your personal contribution to the realization of our objectives, in what way is it specifically expressed? Workers are asked, managers are asked, i.e., everyone is asked regardless of rank.

The demands are high. For example, the job performance of 31,000 communists was declared insufficient. They adopted new pledges in keeping with the demands of today. Forty thousand persons were given new party

assignments. Severe measures were invoked against violators of the Regulations of the CPSU. Five thousand persons were punished. Approximately 800 were expelled from the party. More than 480 managers were dismissed at the instigation of party organizations.

[Question] So attention was primarily focused on those who have been negligent, insufficiently active, who are unable or unwilling to perform their obligations properly?

[Answer] That is not all. More attention has probably been focused on the experience of the best, on new developments in the work. Individual talks with communists elicited their views of the ongoing changes, their ideas regarding ways of raising the role of primary party organizations in the life of work collectives. About 160,000 specific proposals were expressed. They were studied and taken into account. Many of them formed the basis of plans for the activity of party committees and bureaus.

I have already said that many managers were relieved of their duties. But at the same time, many more—about 2500 persons—were promoted to more responsible work. Most of them are young, knowledgeable people who are sincerely interested in the success of perestroika. I am certain that the majority of them will show their best side in the process of carrying out the radical reform.

It is very important that many of the new managers were not appointed from above but were elected by a 'vote of confidence' by their collectives. This fact becomes especially important when the Law on the State Enterprises takes effect.

[Question] Yuriy Vladimirovich, there is much interest in the work of party committees to improve the political and economic education of cadres in connection with the economic reform. What can you say in this regard?

[Answer] Briefly, that it is entirely subordinate to the fulfillment of the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee on this issue. We are trying to overcome all manifestations of formalism and dogmatism in this education, to link it solidly to practice, and to instill in everyone a deep understanding of restructuring in the national economy. We have organized economic universal education which is designed to give people an understanding of the principles of cost accounting on the scale of the enterprise, shop, division, brigade, and work station.

What makes up profits? What is the anticost mechanism? How are material and labor resources saved? Why is it profitable to turn out better quality products and to deliver them strictly by the contractually specified deadline? Every worker should have an entirely clear understanding of all these and many other points.

The education of cadres is naturally organized in all gorkoms and raykoms and in large party committees that have the real potential for this. Some party committees hold practical activities that are called "games." The games, however, are very serious. The situation is given: the economic location of the enterprise, its supply with material and labor resources, the state of the equipment, and the course of fulfillment of the plan targets. The participants—enterprise managers—must reach a decision, must outline an optimal plan of action in order to raise production to a new, higher level, to eliminate indebtedness, or to secure high profits. The decisions that are made frequently differ from one another, heated debates ensue, and, as we know, the truth emerges from the clash of ideas and disputes.

I also want to note our training program in the fundamentals of law, which is especially necessary in connection with the Law on the State Enterprise becoming effective. What rights they give the collectives; what obligations they impose on them; the unity of rights and obligations; avenues of their realization—all this must be known from top to bottom.

We, the obkom workers, are also learning. A section we have created monitors the course of restructuring of economic management, accumulates everything new at the local level, analyzes the causes of failures and blunders, and recommends ways of overcoming them. Scientific research institutes and institutions of higher learning are called in. They comprise the basis of scientific-methodological support for the radical reform in the oblast.

Last December, a conference of secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, economic managers, and secretaries of party committees of enterprises that were converted to full cost accounting and self-financing as of 1 January was held at the CPSU obkom. There are 206 such enterprises belonging to union ministries. There are more than 600 enterprises and associations operating under the new conditions. Thus the year 1988 will be extremely intense and in many respects decisive where we are concerned.

[Question] There is an evident need to sum up the results of the preparation and implementation of the radical economic reform in the oblast. What are they?

[Answer] I will first of all note the orientation of collectives toward the all-round reduction of expenditures of material and energy resources. Their conservation has grown appreciably in heavy industry. The number of cost-accounting brigades has increased 1.5-fold.

The operation of most plants in heavy industry is stable. Last year, they sold more than 100 million rubles' worth of additional output. Ferrous metallurgy produced 130,000 tons of rolled metals above the plan and filled

practically all customers' orders. Petrochemical industry enterprises operating on a full cost-accounting and self-financing basis doubled the rates of increase in labor productivity.

Technical retooling and reconstruction of existing production have intensified. Reconstruction is successful, for example, at the Kachkanarskiy Ore Dressing Combine where the same areas will increase the production of improved-quality metallurgical raw materials by 70 percent. This is the same as commissioning a powerful new ore dressing mill. The plan proposed by the collective and scientists for the reconstruction of the Pervouralskiy New Pipe Plant is being carried out. Already this year the plant will commission capacities for the additional production of 100,000 tons of assorted petroleum pipe which is presently in extremely short supply in the nation. It has been decided to modernize the old Alapayevskiy Metallurgical Plant on the most sophisticated technological basis.

If we speak of industry in general, the plan is being fulfilled with a great deal of exertion. What is more, the economic indicators of the very enterprises that are already operating under the conditions of cost accounting and self-financing are lower than assigned. They are for the most part machine building enterprises. The laggards include our renowned giants—Uralmash, Turbomotor Plant, and Ural'elektroyazhmash production associations.

[Question] And this is explained primarily by factors that are independent of the collectives of these associations.

[Answer] What is true is true. They offer justifications with references to higher authority. And there is a basis for this. In the oblast there are six enterprises belonging to the USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building and not one of them is coping with its targets. This is a disquieting fact attesting to shortcomings in an entire sector, to the continuing inattention to its needs, to its diseases that result from the fact that the attitude toward machine building for many years was consumerist: taking as much as possible from it without any concern for its development. And today, it appears, not very much has changed.

A number of ministries have issued an order on the procedure for fulfilling the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers that define avenues of the sector's development up to the year 2000. And there the matter ended. There was neither aid nor oversight over the fulfillment of what was planned. Instead of them, there were only demands for the production of finished output. There was practically no alarm over the fact that, according to the decrees, machine building plants should produce 5-10 times more tools and special accessories for their own needs. Tooling-up services are still 20-30 years behind the times; more than one-third of the machine tool park is obsolete.

Uralmash, for example, is assigned targets that exceed its potential. A multitude of indicators continues to be planned, including the delivery of secondary raw materials, not for the association as a whole but for each plant belonging to it. And all this is now called the "state order." Incidentally, the association received its state order for 1988 after an obvious delay.

In the oblast, there are 15 plants belonging to the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry—8 of them are lagging. This is also a joyless picture. We tried to call minister O. Anfimov's attention to it. But to no avail: Oleg Georgiyevich does not accept our invitation to visit the enterprises subordinate to him in the Central Urals. To be sure, other officials from the ministry are sent but there is little benefit from their hasty visits.

[Question] But all the same, there is more to it than the ministries...

[Answer] Without a doubt. The obkom buro recently examined the work of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Gorkom in its direction of restructuring in machine building and pointed out to it and to party raykoms serious omissions and failures in this work and the insolvency of efforts to blame everything on someone else. Reserves for the development of production are far from developed here. And many party organizations and economic organs made their peace with this situation.

It was not by chance that only a few collectives proposed increases in the plans. To the contrary, many called for the lowering of production in 1988. We evidently have been unsuccessful in overcoming the feeling of dependency, the striving to obtain beneficial norms for oneself, to obtain higher incentive funds for the same technical and economic indicators.

The main thing that we have determined for ourselves is work directly in work collectives. We must make a breakthrough in the feelings of the people who are doubtful of our plans. We must also achieve balance in the production plans of enterprises with their material supply and normative deductions.

And here, it goes without saying, very much depends on ministries and departments. On their actions that must make the future clear to work collectives, must untie their hands, and support their initiative. Such actions must be simultaneously forthcoming from local and central bodies. Only with this condition will the radical reform bear fruit more quickly.

It is said that the seeker will master the road. We have embarked on the road with unshakeable resolve to accelerate our every step forward.



**Poltava First Secretary F.T. Morgun Addresses Obkom Plenum**

18000212 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
9 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Muzychenko and V. Chamara: "Break Away from Rote Work and Carry Out the Plans Energetically": "From the Poltava Obkom Party Plenum"]

[Text] How is the policy of perestroika being implemented in the oblast in all spheres of social life? How energetically are the party committees carrying out organizational and political work? What specifically has been done to strengthen party influence on the solution of economic and social problems? These questions made up the topics of conversation at the 7 January Poltava Obkom Party Plenum, which analyzed the report of the obkom buro on the work on supervising perestroika.

During preparations for the plenum, meetings and conversations were held between members and candidate members of the buro and the members of the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms; with soviet, trade union and Komsomol officials; with representatives of all branches of the national economy; and with ordinary communists. Hundreds of letters were received from the workers. Taking counsel with the people permitted greater in-depth analysis and a more complete evaluation of the processes taking place in the oblast. Through the oblast newspaper, all communists and non-party members were offered the opportunity to familiarize themselves ahead of time with the topics in the buro report and to ponder on them.

In his report to the plenum, Party Obkom First Secretary F.T. Morgun noted that in implementing the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, the obkom buro has focused its principal efforts on the key tasks for accelerating socio-economic development, on democratization, and on stepping up work with the working collectives. Communists and the workers are regularly informed on the activity of the party obkom. An atmosphere of mutual exactingness has been established at the buro.

The speaker gave a demanding analysis of both the work of the buro as a whole, and that of each of its members, and above all that of the obkom secretaries, to include his own work. In certain sectors the buro has not brought about the changes required. Oblast party committees are not yet fully implementing the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee on deepening perestroika; they do not always critically evaluate that which has been achieved, in accordance with party principles; and they sometimes usurp the role of soviet and economic organs. Not all the party gorkoms and raykoms, nor the primary party organizations have firmly mastered political methods of leadership. And in a number of sectors they have not yet managed to overcome inertia.

While noting an increase in the pace of the buro's activities, the speakers at the same time pointed directly to the unfinished work: they exposed the factors which are retarding the pace of perestroika, and they called attention to shortcomings in the style and methods of party work.

"While visiting the plant," said Hero of Socialist Labor I.P. Bilousko, a foreman at the Kremenchug Motor Vehicle Plant, "the comrades from the obkom devote more time to talks with the general director than with the party committee, and still less with the workers on the job: they are always rushing off somewhere. And after all, the fate of production is resolved right there, in the production sections. Obkom secretaries should require that officials of the party organs spend more time talking with the ordinary workers."

It was emphasized at the plenum that developing the style of party work and the general atmosphere at the buro depends to a great extent on the party obkom First Secretary, F.T. Morgun—an experienced official and a fine organizer, an energetic worker who is devoted to the cause. But at times, to the detriment of organizational and political work, he takes it upon himself to resolve many questions. And this detracts from the responsibility of the other members of the buro. Attention was also called to the fact that the first secretary, in giving priority to the agro-industrial sector, is unjustly neglecting questions of industrial development.

"The fate of perestroika is to a decisive degree decided by fundamental changes in the economy and the solution of social problems," noted A.N. Sobolyev, Lubenskiy party gorkom first secretary. "But here the buro and responsible officials on the obkom apparat are not working up to par. Certain of them are working in the old manner; they lack initiative; they often know of problems only by hearsay, and superficially; and when they should be putting their shoulder to the wheel, they avoid making decisions." The speaker specifically criticized A.I. Kovinko, obkom second secretary, for limiting his sphere of activity to Poltava and Kremenchug.

Analyzing the work of the obkom buro with cadres, Reshetilovskiy party raykom First Secretary I.G. Borovenskiy; A.G. Onishchenko, rector of the Poltava Engineering-Construction Institute; A.T. Kukoba, chairman of the inspection commission of the oblast party organization; and others, stressed that the main criterion in the buro's work must be the attitude of the cadres toward perestroika, and their ability to solve the new problems.

The obkom approved the program for working with cadres to the end of the five-year plan. The leadership of the Kotelevskiy, Mashevskiy and Poltavskiy Raykoms and that of a number of rayispolkoms was strengthened. This will provide positive results. The Lokhvitskiy party raykom is operating in the new manner.



However, the speakers pointed out, we have been unable to manage without shortcomings in working with cadres. At times the nomination of people to supervisory positions is based on data from questionnaires alone, and they are found lacking in preparation and political experience. This has a negative effect on the state of affairs. For example, during the ten years of the existence of the Komsomol party gorkom, there have been three first secretaries and four second secretaries. At the elections to the City Komsomol Soviet of People's Deputies, almost a third of the electors voted against P.P. Vasilenko, who is now already a former chairman of the gorispolkom.

Such situations would not occur if the buro, the obkom secretaries, and N.N. Zhdan, chief of the organizational party work department and candidate member of the buro, had worked better with the reserves and had taken counsel more often with the secretaries of the primary party organizations and with the working collectives on the candidates being nominated.

What sort of role does the obkom buro play in implementing the transition of the working collectives to the new economic conditions? In answering this question, the speakers pointed to the buro's increased attention to the economic problems of production. Specifically, the buro has studied the experience of the collective at the Poltava Ore-enriching Combine, which is already working under conditions of total economic accountability and autonomous financing; and has summarized and given its approval. Unfortunately, many party organizations at enterprises which have prepared for transition to the new conditions have been unable to take advantage of this experience. In a number of working collectives the transition has had a very painful beginning. Production volumes have fallen. The Khimmash Plant in Poltava and the Ferro-Concrete Plant in Mirgorod have found themselves in a severe financial situation. Half of the enterprises are not fulfilling the plan in accordance with their basic indicators.

What has caused this?

"The fate of the plans, and especially in conditions of total economic accountability and autonomous financing, depends directly on the level of work of the primary party organizations and that of every communist," stressed G.I. Chuchko, a press operator at the Poltava Industrial Diamond and Diamond Instrument Plant. "Moreover, certain party members have formed the opinion that only the foreman, the shop chief and the plant manager have to restructure their work. But are all the ordinary communists working conscientiously? Unfortunately, that is not the case. Their position is quite often as follows: 'I've fulfilled the norm, and that's enough.' Today that is not enough."

The obkom's work on perestroyka in the agro-industrial complex was central to the speeches of N.T. Yurchenko, chairman of the Peremoga Komunizmu Kolkhoz in Lokhivskiy Rayon; N.S. Slinko, first secretary of the Kobel-yakskiy party raykom; N.A. Pasyuta, chief agronomist on

the Kolkhoz imeni Engels in Zenkovskiy Rayon; and others. It was noted that during the past year, 36.7 centners of grain crops per hectare were gathered in the oblast. There were increased yields in other agricultural crops as well, and the state was sold more grain, meat, milk and other products than for the average annual yield in the previous five-year plan. To a large extent this is the result of the application of intensive technologies, and soil-conservation systems of agriculture.

At the same time the buro has not yet managed to put into action all the reserves and capabilities in this sector; to direct the work of the oblast agro-industrial commission toward overcoming the backwardness of certain kolkhozes and sovkhoses, in order that they unconditionally fulfill the state plans. Spotty yields have been observed in grain crops by rayon and by individual farms. In spite of the fact that all rayons have fulfilled the plan for sale of grain to the state, a number of farms remain in arrears. A complex situation is now taking shape with meat production as well, and with providing it to the populace. In this most important matter, the capabilities of the private sector are not being fully utilized. Obkom Secretary I.A. Gopey, obkom department chief V.P. Vantsak, and party buro member and Oblast Agro-Industrial Commission Chairman A.I. Timoshenko have not always investigated these problems in an objective manner.

The plenum participants addressed many critical remarks to A.S. Myakota, a member of the party obkom buro and chairman of the oblast ispolkom, and at L.M. Vernigory, candidate member of the buro and chairman of the oblast trade union council, for not displaying the necessary firmness in solving social problems; for sometimes taking a bureaucratic attitude toward the everyday needs of the people; and for overcoming elements of formalism slowly. P.I. Matviyenko, an obkom party secretary, and I.Z. Prishchepa, an obkom department chief, were subjected to severe criticism for shortcomings in the organization of ideological work and for slowly restructuring it in accordance with the increasing demands.

Demandingly evaluating the work of the obkom buro, Kremenchug Party Gorkom First Secretary N.I. Zalud-yak, Kozelshchinskii Party Raykom First Secretary A.P. Zinchenko, and other speakers directed a number of critical remarks at workers on the apparat of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. When visiting the localities, they often show interest only in "their own" narrow departmental tasks, and do not always make an in-depth, all-round analysis of complex problems.

Also taking part in the work of the plenum and delivering a speech was B.V. Kachura, a Politburo member and a secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. "Your plenum," he said, "as others, is largely proceeding

in a new manner, in accordance with the requirements of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. This also pertains to the process of preparations for it, and the content of the work of the plenum itself. A number of sensible suggestions have been introduced on democratization of internal party life, and on implementing the cardinal economic reforms which deserve our attention and support.

"As one can see from the self-critical report and the analyses expressed by the plenum participants, the party obkom and its buro have shown their uniqueness in their work on perestroyka, and they are finding new and non-standard approaches to fulfilling a number of tasks for accelerating socio-economic development.

"At the same time, the Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, which discussed the accounting report of the party obkom last December, believes that the tempo and especially the depth of perestroyka in the oblast are still far from fully satisfying the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee. Therefore it is proper that today's plenum has focused attention on analysis of the causes which are hindering progress, and on working out measures to eliminate them.

"The principal work," stressed the Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary, "lies ahead. After all, we have entered upon the decisive, second stage of perestroyka, the essence of which lies in putting into practice all that has been planned, everything that has been thought of. At this stage the significance of the political, ideological and organizational activity of the party committees and party organizations increases many-fold, and the responsibility of each communist for putting the party policy into effect is increased.

"A key question for all party committees is the mastery of political methods of leadership. It should be noted that the buro of the Poltava Party Obkom also quite often usurps the prerogative of soviet and economic organs, and occupies itself in the solution of exclusively production questions, when there is no special need for that.

"Today, in conditions of deepening democratization, widespread introduction of new management methods and the increasing independence of enterprises," Kachura continued, "the center of gravity in the work of party committees must be in fact shifted to the primary party organizations. This is also important because there are still quite a few collectives where all they do is talk about perestroyka, and where for all practical purposes they lack an atmosphere of demandingness and adherence to principle, critical analysis of what has been done, and intolerance of shortcomings. Officials on the party committees are also obliged to help such party organizations come up to the level of contemporary requirements. And in order to do this, they must visit the party organizations not in the manner of raids, and they must work not as inspectors, but render practical assistance in solving concrete problems. Such experience exists in the oblast.

"Today the criterion for analyzing the activity of any party organ and any supervisor," the speaker added, "can be only one thing—genuine positive achievements for the better, and tangible results in the economic, social and intellectual spheres. Naturally, this presupposes increasing demands on the administrators from top to bottom for the state of affairs in the sector entrusted to them. Early last year reports were delivered at the plenums and sessions of the obkom buro on the personal participation in perestroyka of obkom party secretary V.P. Blinov, oblast trade union council chairman L.M. Vernigorya, and oblast ispolkom first deputy chairman N.A. Khvorostyan. Serious critical remarks were leveled at them. Considerable time has elapsed, but no positive changes have occurred."

In the speeches, special attention was devoted to organization for carrying out adopted resolutions. It turned out that over the past two years the party obkom has examined many times the state of affairs at machine-building enterprises and at construction organizations; however, the expected results were not achieved. In oblast machine building obligations for long-term product deliveries are increasing, and the coefficient for equipment replacement is decreasing. The length of time for erecting projects and the proportion of incomplete construction projects are significantly higher than normal, and the quality of construction remains low. The volume of construction using self-financing is insignificant, and has practically not grown over the last three years.

Topics raised in the speeches included the main levers for carrying out radical economic reform, the responsibility of party organizations for introducing the achievements of science and technology and total economic accountability to the working collectives, economizing on all kinds of resources, and the training of cadres for working in the new conditions. Questions were raised, the resolution of which depends on increasing the yield of the agro-industrial complex and the realization of the social program, principally through furnishing housing, goods and services to the populace. The secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee stressed the urgency of focusing increased attention on the ideological support of perestroyka, and on improving educational work.

"The success of perestroyka," said Kachura in conclusion, "to a decisive degree will depend on objective organizational and political work of all elected party organs. The party obkom buro must come to the necessary conclusions on the basis of the criticism expressed at the Central Committee Politburo during discussion of the course of perestroyka in the oblast, and must strive more steadfastly to solve the problems on putting the policy of the 27th CPSU Congress into practice."

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During his stay in Poltava, Kachura visited a number of industrial enterprises and associations, kolkhozes, and projects of socio-cultural significance. During the meetings held in the working collectives, and the conversations with party and economic administrators, a detailed dialogue was held on carrying out the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and on implementing perestroika, economic reforms, and the democratization of all spheres of social life.

At the Poltava Gas-Discharge Tube Plant imeni Ukrainian Komsomol and at the Poltava Ore-Enrichment Combine, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary was acquainted with the prospects for development and technical renovation of production, and inquired as to the preparedness of the collectives to work under conditions of total economic accountability and autonomous financing; on carrying out their contracted obligations; and on measures for increasing production quality. It was stressed that party organizations must constantly keep the urgent production and social problems in their field of vision, and must steadfastly strive to solve them.

Kachura inspected building projects at a number of villages in the Piryatynskiy, Mirgorodskiy, Poltavskiy, Reshetilovskiy, and Novosanzharskiy rayons.

At the Kolkhoz imeni Ivanenko in Mirgorodskiy Rayon and the Kolkhoz imeni 27th CPSU Congress in Reshetilovskiy Rayon, questions were raised of more fully utilizing reserves and capabilities for significantly increasing the production of agricultural products, and above all grain, meat, milk and vegetables. The need for more persistently introducing progressive forms of labor organization and wages, and the importance of developing the individual sector in the rural area, were indicated.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary also visited trade and public catering enterprises in Poltava and Kremenchug. He was interested in the work of the party committees, and that of the Soviets of People's Deputies in developing the social sphere, and in accelerating the pace of housing construction.

Traveling through the oblast together with Kachura were Poltava Party Obkom First Secretary F.T. Morgun and Chairman of the Ispolkom of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, A.S. Myakota.

09006

#### **Zakarpatskiy Obkom Plenum Addresses Spread of Religious Beliefs**

18000158 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
22 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by Ya. Oleynichenko, PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondent: "More Seeking, Less Supervising: From the Transcarpathian Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Party workers are rarely at their posts... They are not participating in the work of trade union plenums... They are not teaching the Komsomol workers... The

obkom members and candidate members should offer greater practical assistance to the primary party organizations of production collectives...

Remarks made in the Transcarpathian Party Obkom Buro address will not be enumerated. Many of them concern the fact that party leaders are still substituting for economic leaders and interfering in the practical management of ongoing business, instead of providing political leadership, as though denying people responsibility for their assigned business. This causes irreparable damage to lively collective creativity and, as a natural result, reduces the active attitude and generates indifference toward general affairs. In other words, the human factor is not working well.

The lessons of democracy are not easy. Some of the speakers, discussing today's affairs in today's language, still measured them in yesterday's logic. This sort of method, of squeezing new concepts into an accustomed pattern and adapting to restructuring, does exist.

However, most of the speakers had an honest desire to share their understanding, their realization of the profound sense of renovation of social life. Communists are already adding their personal, albeit for the present time limited, experience of work in the new way to words about democratization, economic reform and the human factor, and are evaluating matters in all oblast party organizations from a different, genuinely interested view.

I.P. Mashkov, first secretary, Uzhgorodskiy Party Gorkom: "Today we need more than competence in economic matters, broad scope of thinking and profound knowledge of the political and practical qualities of workers. I have allowed the replacement of economic leaders, particularly in construction and municipal services. In order to finish this more quickly, we must study the experience of restructuring rather than just criticize. After all, in my opinion, the main conclusion of the first stage is the need to raise the social activeness of the people.

M.V. Fenich, chairman, kolkhoz imeni Chapayev, Beregovskiy Rayon: "It is time to free ourselves from petty supervision and trust people more. Many primary questions of economic development are unsolved—the times and people's thoughts have been suppressed by current problems. Sometimes one must turn to various rayon and oblast authorities numerous times for one ordinary matter or another, until the obkom first secretary intervenes. Is this really order?"

I.M. Gabor, first secretary, Rakhovskiy Party Raykom: "They began to demand fewer reports, but then all sorts of telephone requests sharply increased. This year alone, 40 commissions were established at the armature plant. The party obkom quietly sanctions all of this."



I.V. Ivanov, machinist, Chop Railroad Station Locomotive Depot: "In the first place, many people in our collective are not even interested in wages but in labor conditions, in labor content—this was made clear by a questionnaire. People will work with full efficiency when they feel themselves to be true, zealous proprietors."

This proprietary attitude toward business of many oblast workers and communists is already showing up in the first results. For the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, the plan for 2 years of the 5-year plan has been fulfilled by 70 enterprises, 32 kolkhozes and sovkhozes, almost 2,000 brigades, sections and shops and over 25,000 working people. Work paces have increased since the beginning of the year. Plan goals for growth in production volume and labor productivity have been achieved. Planned production has been overfulfilled by 20 million rubles. The highest grain harvest has been achieved—about 47.5 centners per hectare, and assignments for the sale of potatoes, vegetables, grapes, meat, milk, eggs and wool to the state have been overfulfilled. More housing, schools and preschools, clubs, houses of culture and out-patient polyclinics are being commissioned than previously.

G.I. Bandrovskiy, Transcarpathian Party Obkom first secretary, cited these facts and figures in his report. At the same time, as noted at the plenum, the plan for industrial production in the oblast has not been fulfilled—it is short by 5.0 million rubles. The contractual obligations of the "Zakarpattestorg" Association, of local and light industrial enterprises and of machine building are not being systematically fulfilled. One in every six enterprises has not dealt with labor productivity assignments. Problems with raising the quality of output and reducing its cost remain urgent—40 production collectives have allowed cost increases to occur.

The conclusion? Restructuring in the oblast party organization is taking place slowly; for the time being only the surface reserves are being used and shifts, including economic, remain superficial. Presently, its main lever—the human factor—has not been included in the restructuring process. Party obkom measures to improve work style are not always applied in the activity of gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations.

In studying restructuring in the work of the party obkom buro, the speakers noted that obkom secretaries have not become the true organizers and coordinators of practical activities and of the implementation of jointly drafted resolutions on problems and long-term issues, involving the broad aktiv, specialists and society. The party obkom buro does not always direct the main thrust of its political influence toward accelerating socioeconomic development and raising the effectiveness of ideological and upbringing work. Consistency and persistence in fulfilling said measures and passed resolutions is insufficient.

Characteristically, the speakers showed concern not only for today's problems but also for tomorrow's.

V.M. Yantso, brigade leader, Mukhachevskiy Furniture Combine: "In literally 10 days our collective, as well as 23 oblast industrial associations and enterprises, is converting to the new economic conditions of work. Yet to this day the republic ministries—the ministries of forest, light and local industry, and the civil aviation administration—have not solved the most important questions of work under the new conditions. Among these, the primary question is that of rhythmical deliveries."

M.V. Rusin, adjuster, "Mukhachevpribor" Association: "People stand behind every success or error. When city and rayon leaders met with the residents of the Mukhachevskiy street "50 Let Oktyabrya," no more than 3 hours were allotted. However, many questions were solved there. These days, such meetings should also be to put into practice and held in enterprises. The food situation is bad. There are no vegetables and fruits in oblast stores. And this is in Transcarpathia!"

The new administrative agencies of the agroindustrial complex have already been functioning for 2 years. However, the oblast agroindustrial apparatus continues to work in the old way, retaining the methods of previous agricultural agencies, replacing lively organizational work with ostentatious business-like efficiency, paper-shuffling, telephoned instructions and "touring visits." Plenum participants stressed that the successes of the agroindustrial sector should be judged by the presence of food commodities in the stores.

The Transcarpathian Oblast has one of the lowest levels of medical service in the republic. Only four population points have cultural-sports complexes. Nearly half the villages have no domestic service enterprises or public baths and many lack public catering enterprises. One fifth of the schools are located in run-down and unsuitable premises; the material and technical base of preschool institutions remains weak. At the plenum it was pointed out that all of these shortcomings are due to the lack of a comprehensive approach to the solution of social questions on the part of local soviets of people's deputies. M.M. Malevanik, oblispolkom chairman and party obkom buro member, is not sufficiently decisive and consistent and does not adequately strive to strengthen executive discipline.

The communists paid particular attention to ideological work and its ties to practical affairs. In many party committees the inertia of stereotypes, the "gross approach" and an inability to perform political and upbringing work under conditions of democratization and glasnost is still noticeable. The effectiveness of specific, individually-oriented political and moral upbringing, using the regular slogans, is low. The Komsomol aktiv is inadequately performing patriotic and international work, which has great significance in the multinational border oblast. Conservatism in atheistic



propaganda has not been eliminated and the religious situation remains complicated. Such work is questionable when, in the Velikiye Komyaty settlement of Vinogradovskiy Rayon, the Pentecostals have formed a choir from a number of workers at the sovkhoz imeni Batulin and schoolchildren are learning religious songs at home. In Borzhavskoye village, with over 2,500 residents, the local priest is the sole subscriber to the journal *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*.

Yu.N. Yelchenko, Politburo member, secretary, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the plenum. His speech emphasized that party committee plenums and meetings of communists, in which the elected authorities' reports on restructuring are discussed, should become a collective and responsible review of the activity of all party organizations since the 27th CPSU Congress, and should be an important step in preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Familiarity with the state of affairs in the oblast, the party obkom buro report and the speeches of plenum participants form the grounds for concluding that certain shifts have occurred in the obkom buro's work in leading restructuring. In the future we should also strive to increase glasnost and to react attentively and efficiently to matters facing the obkom, party gorkoms and raykoms and party organizations. We must study social opinion more profoundly and foresee the social consequences of our decisions.

In developing democracy and glasnost, the speaker continued, the obkom buro will promote the implementation of economic reform and increase the role of primary party organizations in this matter. The basic issue of the party leadership of restructuring—cadre policy—is also unthinkable without these principles.

As stipulated by a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee resolution, we should pay particular attention to questions of ethnic relations and the people's international and patriotic upbringing.

The critical and frank discussion at the plenum sharply focused attention on eliminating many unresolved questions and shortcomings. The obkom buro should provide an example in this—an example of high personal responsibility for the course of restructuring and for the state of affairs in the primary party organizations and labor collectives. Increasing the organizational role of the party and of every communist has become a prerequisite for carrying out tasks in this new, responsible stage of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Twenty-three people participated in the meetings. During preparations for the plenum, in the course of which gatherings and survey-taking meetings were held, some 14,000 suggestions and observations were expressed in

reports by the elected authorities. The people have taken restructuring to heart. The task of party organizations is to support their activeness and everything that is valuable and progressive.

13362

#### **UKSSR Crimean Obkom Chiefs Discuss Restructuring**

18000209a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
16 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by A. Gorobets, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent, on plenum of the Crimean CPSU Obkom: "Accounting By Party Organizations: The Status of Restructuring"; "Making Greater Demands of Oneself"]

[Text] People have long known that if they want to get an objective view of themselves they need only listen to what other people are saying about them. Without such analysis it would also be naive to expect success in such an important matter as restructuring.

That is why the Crimean Obkom Buro of the UKSSR CP turned to communists and non-party members prior to discussion at its plenum of the way restructuring is being managed, asking them to express their opinions on the matter. A forum for those opinions was also provided: the local press, radio and television. Speeches by the secretaries and members of the party obkom buro at assemblies of communists and before labor collectives seemed designed to "draw fire" at the speakers. The publication of the report's theses in the newspapers provoked a response. Many letters were received. Some of them were agitated, as for example this one: "Does it not seem to you," wrote Simferopol resident V. I. Narodnyy, addressing his question to the members of the buro, "that we will merely be chasing our tails if you and the obkom apparatus do not carry out the party's decisions with conviction and a businesslike manner, as becomes Bolsheviks? Wake up your staff members! We will botch the job if you, our oblast commissars, do not roll up your sleeves as well."

Yes, that is a great tribute to them — "oblast commissars" — but much is demanded of them as well. To a large extent the situation in the various sectors of the economy will depend on the activism and businesslike approach of each secretary and buro member. They must have an influence on affairs in each labor collective and on the ongoing processes of restructuring, yet do so without getting in the way of administrators and specialists. Unfortunately, the obkom plenum did not give any examples of this sort of skillful work. But not because there are no such examples. The unusual agenda and in-depth analysis of the state of affairs during the first stage of restructuring which was given in the account by A. N. Girenko, first secretary of the obkom, sparked honest and frank discussion concerning unsolved problems in the development of intra-party affairs and untapped economic resources. And concerning just how

much each person has "rolled up his sleeves," who has blown a trumpet blast to "wake up their staff" from stagnation and somnolence, and how they have done it.

There was probably also less talk about positive examples because there is not very much to boast about. Whereas, for example, since the beginning of the current five-year plan the growth rates of industrial and agricultural production volumes have greatly exceeded plan goals, and the same has been true of growth rates for labor productivity and salaries, this is no indication of heroism. Because acceleration will not be achieved if it is measured by the old standards. Plenum participants focused their attention on other facts. For instance, the fact that almost one-fourth of all industrial enterprises are failing to comply with their contractual obligations. In light of that fact, what kind of partners will they be for the labor collectives which have made the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing? And a few more examples of how work is done here in the Crimea: our oblast is in last place in the UkSSR in terms of the percentage of goods which it produces in the highest category of quality; our equipment shift index is scarcely increasing at all; and one-third of all our workers are still employed in manual labor jobs.

It comes as no surprise that many of the speakers, in particular V.A. Zheludovskiy, V.N. Marusenko and V.F. Chaykovskiy, posed the following question: what sort of influence are the appropriate departments and obkom secretary V. I. Pigarev having in terms of improvement of the situation, what influence are they having on the operations of party organizations and industrial enterprises? Vladimir Ilich Pigarev had to take the floor and acknowledge mistakes — both his own and those of his subordinates — and tell how he planned to restructure the operations of the obkom's departments and local party organizations.

On two occasions — in 1977 and in 1978 — our oblast produced a total of two million tons of grain. We have not succeeded in repeating those achievements, despite the fact that farmers are now more experienced and grain producers now possess intensive crop cultivation technology. Obviously the problem is inadequate utilization of the human factor. This has already been pointed out to the Crimean Party Obkom. However, as we can see, the appropriate measures have not been taken. At the plenum criticism in this connection was directed at the Agriculture and Food Industry Department and at obkom secretary G. I. Kapshuk.

Characteristic of our oblast are tendencies toward the disproportional economic development of individual farms. Alongside kolkhozes and sovkhozes which bring in million of rubles in profits are barely profitable farms, and the number of such farms in our oblast is unfortunately on the increase. This means that party committees are not exerting enough influence on economic development. Above all, as emphasized at the plenum, this applies to the party's Krasnogvardeyskiy Raykom, which

has for many years set an example by its work. The plenum was addressed by raykom first secretary A. G. Lakshinskiy. But essentially all he said was that the obkom buro should hold an on-site session to deal with the problems in question. As if to say: "You come and solve our problems for us, and then we will take it from there."

A. S. Glushenkova, a member of the party obkom and fitter and assembler brigade leader at the Simferopol Electrical Machine Building Plant, spoke with alarm of the fact that despite some improvement in the operations of the various sectors of our oblast's agroindustrial association there has been no substantive progress toward ensuring that the people of the Crimea are adequately supplied with food products. At her plant's store, this worker stressed, the situation has worsened even in comparison to the recent past. This is evidence of the fact that the obkom buro has been unable to achieve radical restructuring in the operations of the oblast agroindustrial committee, which is headed by candidate buro member B. I. Samsonov.

Since 1 January 1988 the agroindustrial sector has been making the transition to self-supporting production and self-financing. Yet can it be said with confidence that the success of this undertaking is assured? Perhaps not. Introduction of economic methods of administration is not an instantaneous process; many people must learn the subtleties of cost-accounting relationships. But, oddly, no clear-cut system of operations has been drawn up in our oblast or in individual rayons.

During the pause between meetings I approached G. I. Kapshuk, obkom secretary.

"As you are aware," I said, "the Kolkhoz imeni 19th Party Congress in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon is something of a pioneer with regard to the introduction of salaries based on gross income. Presently great significance is being attached to this progressive form of labor organization and incentives. How many farms in this oblast have put it into practice?"

"Too few," replied Georgiy Ivanovich. "Only five."

Undoubtedly our obkom's Economic Department and Agriculture and Food Industry Department are partly to blame for this. They are devoting insufficient attention to efforts to orient the obkom buro and communists toward focusing their strength on the principal direction in economic development.

"Even today, in a period of universal transition to full cost accounting and self-financing," emphasized T. S. Boyko, obkom member and milker at Kolkhoz imeni Kirov in Pervomayskiy Rayon, "quite a few unresolved problems remain. A contract is an agreement between two parties, with concomitant rights and obligations. But what happens? If a worker on a sovkhoz or a kolkhoz

member violates his or her contract, that individual pays for it in rubles. If a contract is violated by the administration, then the workers also pay for it. That is not right."

In his speech oblispolkom chairman A. M. Roshchupkin complained that with regard to certain types of agricultural production our oblast is not making an adequate contribution to the all-union fund. Supposedly that is why the per capita consumption of meat, vegetables and fruits in the Crimea is somewhat less than in neighboring Kherson, Zaporozhye, Odessa and Nikolayev oblasts. But that statement does not stand up under criticism, to put it mildly. Speakers calculated the contribution to the Food Program made by procurements of surplus agricultural production from citizens' private plots. It turned out that in our oblast more than one-half of all families residing in rural areas do not have a single head of livestock on their private farm plots. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz administrators are not striving to provide rural families with young livestock and poultry or to provide adequate winter fodder for them.

Taking into account the large seasonal influx of vacationers, we could establish cooperative and family-based repair shops, cafes and snack bars, thereby making a contribution toward resolution of the problems of food service and organization. However, that area remains "virgin soil."

Plenum participants stressed that the times in which we live place special demands on party workers and members of elective organs. Party committees must play the role of political headquarters for improvement of all aspects of society. The assemblies of communists currently being held in our oblast are providing in-depth, comprehensive analysis of the functioning of elective organs with regard to their guidance of restructuring and are testimony to the increasing exactingness of party members. The work of the bureaus of six party organizations has been judged unsatisfactory and 143 secretaries of shop-level and primary party organizations, as well as 194 members of other elective organs, have been voted out of office. And so far assemblies have only been held in two-thirds of all party organizations.

However, some party raykoms and gorkoms are concentrating their attention on the activities of low-level branches of the party and forgetting about the demands upon themselves. Thus, the bureau of the Feodosiya Gorkom just recently considered four issues at one of its meetings, among them were accounts concerning the work of a party organization and an economic administrator, as well as 35 applications for party membership and 16 cases pertaining to the imposition and lifting of party penalties. This wholesale approach to the resolution of important questions of intra-party affairs and operations is also typical of the bureaus of the Razdolnoye and Sudak party organizations. This practice was condemned at the obkom plenum.

In his analysis of the obkom bureau's work, A. P. Smolyannikov, first secretary of Sevastopol Gorkom, stressed the following: "Some responsible officials in the obkom apparatus regard their own conclusions as the highest authority. The obkom is attempting to keep track of every detail, often thereby losing sight of its main goal. Furthermore, the matter of selecting the best-trained party cadres for employment in the obkom apparatus has been neglected. To a certain extent obkom second secretary N. V. Bagrov is to blame for this."

"Six sector departments of the obkom," said T. S. Boyko, a milker from the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov in Pervomayskiy Rayon, "have after one year of operation under conditions of self-supporting production and self-financing still not given us an analysis of the practices of their party organizations with regard to supervision of the introduction of a progressive system of labor organization and incentives. This leads one to assume that their staff members are either not visiting outlying areas, or else they are visiting them as procurators."

Speaking at the obkom plenum, V. D. Kryuchkov, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the UkSSR CP Central Committee, mentioned many of the tasks of restructuring, but he focused attention on democratization of the process of forming a cadre staff and on broad development of elective administrative positions. This, he emphasized, not only does not reduce party committees' responsibility for the selection and training of administrators, but actually increases it. In this respect we cannot permit spontaneity; elective office should not be regarded as a tribute to fashion, but rather as a means of recruiting knowledgeable, competent, honest workers to serve in administrative posts, of recruiting the kind of individuals that people trust and will follow.

"What did the obkom bureau get out of today's discussion of its work?" I asked A. N. Girenko after the plenum.

"We got a mandate to make greater demands on ourselves, on the elected aktiv and on all branches of our oblast party organization. This plenum showed that we still have many untapped resources. This plenum showed us which sectors of restructuring will require greater attention."

Responsible officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the UkSSR CP Central Committee also attended the plenum.

12825

#### **UkSSR Chernovtsy Obkom Plenum Scores Party Officials, Organs**

18000177a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by V. Tsybul'skiy, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent: "Under the Noise of a Wave of Criticism. A Plenum of the Chernovtsy Party Obkom Discussed the Bureau's Report on the Management of Restructuring"]



[Text]—Chernovtsy. There was probably no sphere in the oblast's economy and spiritual life that the keynote speaker—N. Nivalov, first secretary of the party obkom, who described successes in a few words and sharply criticized shortcomings and those to blame for them—did not touch.

The point at issue was the party's leadership of restructuring in the countryside. There was criticism of V. Motovilin, obkom secretary, and L. Yablonskiy, a member of the buro and chairman of the oblagroprom, who were not able to analyze the situation and help the Sokiryanskiy Party Raykom, which was working in the old way, as a result of which the rayon is failing to meet its plan for agricultural output. Special attention was devoted to the social needs of the people. Sharp criticism was leveled at V. Yevdokimenko, first secretary of the Chernovtsy Gorkom; member of the obkom buro, who failed to work to raise the role and responsibility of urban soviet and party leaders.

The work of the apparatus of the obkom with the population was discussed and it was noted that the obkom in this year had received more letters from the working people than the gorkoms and raykoms combined. Thus, questions are not decided at the local level, for which the general department and V. Dutchak, its chief, were justifiably rebuked. Regarding cadre policy, criticism was directed at N. Revenko, obkom secretary; and V. Kostash, chief of the department for party organization work, who were unable to turn obkom, gorkom, and raykom departments in the direction of restructuring and cadre work.

What does the buro see as the reason for unsatisfactory work in these and other directions? How can the situation be corrected? The most frequent recommendation was to increase the responsibility of the person responsible for a given sector of work, to urge him to step up his oversight, and to work harder. The same advice was given to the apparatus and to the obkom in general. In the process of preparing the report, it did not appear that the natural question had been asked: if members of the buro and the obkom have not succeeded in doing the first thing demanded by the restructuring—"to work harder," how are they managing it? And if this is not the crux of the matter, then what is it?

The answer to this question should be sought in the buro's attitude toward the two main directions of the second stage of restructuring—economic reform and democratization. Unfortunately, even though they were named in the report, they were named more in the sense of being enumerated. There was also mention of lax work and personal responsibility for failures was emphasized. N. Ivanov, first secretary of the party obkom, did not use his concluding remarks at the plenum to analyze the buro's work from this standpoint.

And yet in the remarks of participants in the plenum, there was the clear thought that these two links are the basic elements of restructuring and that the efforts in the direction of the reforms should be concentrated on them. But in the attempts to solve problems in these directions, there are many who do not feel the support or the leadership of the buro. What is more, difficulties frequently arise specifically because obkom workers, while recognizing the importance of this work in words, have still not concentrated their efforts here in fact.

A. Kovalenko, brigade leader of a knitwear production association, talks about the situation that has developed in the association: with the conversion to cost accounting, the collective will be unable to carry out the reconstruction the association so urgently needs—at the decision of higher authority, 76.5 percent of the profits will go to the state budget. The situation is even more acute at a furniture factory. As reported by V. Korenkov, first secretary of the Sadgorskiy Party Raykom of the city of Chernovtsy, with the transition to cost accounting only six kopecks from every ruble of profit will be left for the needs of development of the enterprise and the collective. And an appeal was made to the obkom buro to obligate departments to defend newly introduced norms at the soviets, otherwise people will lose faith in the reform.

The situation is the same in agriculture. D. Glavatskiy, leader of a tractor brigade on the 30 Years of Soviet Armenia Kolkhoz, stated that economic levers begin to operate at the brigade level within the farms. And if we go higher? The farm has also not acquired power as an economic unit.

Such remarks contained what the buro's report lacked: above all, real concern and the striving to resolve problems and complexities on the road of economic reform. But participants in the plenum did not hear the expected answer: what and how the buro intends to change in the leadership of oblast party organizations.

Democratization is a necessary condition to the economic reforms. And if democratic processes are spinning their wheels at the level of work collectives and in interactions between rayons and the oblast, the reform will hardly be a success.

"The buro decides nothing without the party aktiv," stated I. Kukurzyak, party organization secretary on the Friendship of Peoples Sovkhoz in the Sokiryanskiy Rayon, from the plenum's rostrum. "All you hear is that things are going well in some organizations and badly in others. But the buro does not discover why.

The idea of the need for the more complete use in the work of obkom members and the party aktiv resounded in the remarks of L. Burlaku, a milkmaid on the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov; member of the obkom; and M. Melnichuk, party organization secretary of the oblast philharmonic. From the remarks of V. Yevdokimenko, member of the



obkom buro; and A. Kotsyuba, first secretary of the Putil'skiy Party Raykom, it followed that the democratization process in the relations of the oblast leadership and local party and soviet organs representing the interests of the working people are in embryonic form to put it mildly.

The same also applies to the satisfaction of the sociocultural needs of dwellers in rural rayons. How can one speak of the development of culture in the countryside if you have to wear wading boots to walk down the streets of the rayon center in the rain in the same Putil'skiy Rayon? And the rayon leaders once again see the single solution to the situation: calling the attention of the oblast leadership to their problems. They reason, not without foundation, as follows: the neighboring rayon is frequently visited by representatives of the oblispolkom and it has no such problems in its sociocultural life. Can such dependence on the center be called democratic?

It appeared that the plenum had been prepared on a healthy, democratic basis. Reports by elective organs had been held in a number of primary party organizations on the eve of the plenum. Local newspapers published the theses of the report under the rubric: "To the Plenum's Rostrum." Much has been done to see to it that the plenum took place on a constructive basis and that it helped the obkom buro together with the party organization to devise tactics for the second stage of restructuring, and to articulate leadership techniques. Why was it that the plenum which was militant, critical, and perestroika-oriented did not become such in fact?

Calmly, succinctly, and confidently, the plenum's resolution noted that in 11 months of the current year, the oblast overfulfilled its targets for the volume of production, labor productivity, and consumer goods production. It fulfilled its quotas for the sale of livestock products, grain, potatoes, and vegetables ahead of schedule in 2 years of the five-year plan. The working people's working and living conditions are improving.

Clearly, given the level of direction of restructuring revealed by the plenum, the role of new methods of obtaining such stability was small. But the obkom buro is in no hurry to acknowledge this point—it judges on the basis of results and they are entirely decent. And therefore despite its critical orientation, the buro continues to count primarily on the old methods of leadership that bail us out today, but bail us out according to yesterday's methods owing primarily to the diligence and enthusiasm of oblast collectives. Therefore, emphasis today as well is more on increasing oversight and responsibility than on understanding the situation, on trust, and on democratization.

It should be remembered that the very criteria for the well-being of a rayon or oblast change with the transition of new methods of management. It will not be possible to avoid lag in many sectors by attempting to iron out contradictions between old methods of management and

the demands of the economic reform tomorrow, just as it is not possible today in oblast rayons in which the situation, according to the assessments of the plenum, is still entirely favorable.

On the eve of the plenum, I had occasion to visit the oblast's Zastavnovskiy Rayon which is known for its strong farms and its developed sociocultural facilities. A chess club, museum, sociocultural complex, dance platforms, a movie theater, and a luxurious wedding palace have been built in the rayon center proper. In the opinion of N. Shvets, party raykom secretary for ideology, the situation is equally as good in outlying areas. N. Shvets believes that the rayon in the last 10-15 years has developed a system for selecting and placing cadres that ensures success. However, it turns out that the role of democratization in these processes is also very modest today because, in her opinion, the aim of democratization is to see to it that the rayon's working people "know the kolkhoz chairman, the party committee secretary, and still better, rayon leaders by sight." But things once again go the old way—if the first person in the rayon knows how to pick his helpers, things will be all right, but if he does not know how...

Visible successes in the development of culture in the countryside could shake confidence in the need for new work methods in rayons that are so exemplary in all rayons. Doubts here, if they existed, were refuted by the plenum's mail and by speeches delivered at the plenum, and it became obvious that both laggards and those who are leading are in need of restructuring.

"Unfortunately, the leading positions on some farms in the Zastavnovskiy Rayon continue to be occupied by people who are not so knowledgeable but who have a good questionnaire," noted I. Kunitskiy, chairman of the Zapov'it Il'icha Kolkhoz; member of the Zastavnovskiy Raykom, in his letter to the "plenum rostrum." "We must explode this 'nomenclature circle' and replace it with managers of a new type." In the speech of the first secretary of the party obkom, the rayon was directly named among those that are lagging in one type of agricultural output.

The fact that the lessons here must be learned not by one rayon but by the oblast as a whole is convincingly proven by the evaluation of the activity of the obkom buro in managing the restructuring program adopted by the plenum. Two provisions in the plenum's resolution—"to consider that the buro of the party obkom is conducting active, consistent work on the direction of restructuring" and "the buro has not succeeded in attaining substantial changes in the democratization of all aspects of public life...in preparing the transition to new forms of management"—attest to one thing. Strangely, the "active work of the buro" has still not affected the main directions of restructuring. And obviously, the situation will not be remedied by mere appeals to "work harder."

Concerning one more thing. Plenums with reports of party committee buros on the management of restructuring throughout the nation are not the internal affair of party organizations at the local level. They are the business of the entire party. They provide the possibility of creatively interpreting the course of restructuring, of participating in the preparation of a most important event in party life—the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The plenum of the Chernovtsy Oblast party organization has shown that both the theoretical and practical baggage of oblast communists is as yet sparse. Of the few proposals at the plenum pertaining to the party conference, only one—**making reports by elected bodies the norm of party life and the incorporation of this provision in the Regulations of the CPSU**—was interesting and constructive.

The critical mood of participants in the plenum, the atmosphere of openness, the readiness to jointly search for problem-solving techniques, and practical and concrete work on restructuring in many primary party organizations constitute convincing proof that potential and untapped reserves exist in the oblast. In the near future, there will be democratic plenums of gorkoms and raykoms with buro reports on the management of restructuring. In the course of this campaign, the obkom buro must implement critical remarks addressed to it in practice.

Time today is the decisive factor. It must be felt. In order to correct the mistakes that have been made, executive party organs must be more exacting in evaluating their own role in restructuring. It must be evaluated not only critically but also constructively, analytically, and along new lines

5013

#### **BSSR Grodno Obkom Scores Party Officials For Shortcomings**

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[Report by *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* special correspondent G. Vladimirova on a plenum of the Grodno Party Obkom: "A Strict Account: A Plenum of the Grodno BSSR CP Obkom Discusses Report By Its Buro For the Administration of Restructuring"]

[Text] First of all I would like to quote from two letters.

"Careful individualized work with people requires a great deal of time, but does the secretary of a party organization always have that much time to spare? We criticize the steady stream of paperwork at all levels, but thus far no substantial changes are evident. One must submit a protocol when accounting to higher authorities, and only work which is recorded on paper will be included in the account. But no matter how many papers one fills out or how many measures one plans, the desired result will not be achieved until the focus of party

work is shifted to the lowest level, to the thick of the masses. Therefore I propose, just by way of experiment, that shop-level party organizations which do not have primary party organization rights cease compiling protocols, instead keeping journals as party groups do." (T. Buyko, secretary of the party buro of the Volkovysskiy Metalworking Plant)

"As a rule, representatives of higher-level organs attend primary party organization meetings. Quite frankly, these visits are often more formal than businesslike in nature."

"There sits the representative of a higher-level organ, writing and taking notes, forming an opinion about the work of the party organization on the basis of speeches by communists. But that opinion is not always correct, because speeches at meetings are also sometimes of a subjective nature."

"Then the representative takes the floor, often speaking in generalities... Quite frankly, the usefulness of such visits is very limited. If someone is sent to a primary party organization it should not be in the role of an armchair general, but instead for the purpose of gathering information and, if need be, rendering practical restructuring assistance. We have particular need of such assistance today." (I. Trofimov, war and labor veteran, CPSU member since 1938)

Both these letters were chosen from a selection of letters published in *GRODNENSKAYA PRAVDA* on the day of the plenum. Both came from mail received by the rubric "To the Podium of the Obkom Plenum." The newspaper ran that rubric for three months, and on the eve of the plenum the obkom buro reviewed readers' replies to a survey entitled "Your Opinion of Restructuring" and also analyzed letters received by the obkom subsequent to publication of the theses of the plenum report.

The letter writers' opinions varied, the buro noted. In some collectives there are visible results of restructuring, in others people feel that the results are inadequate, and in still others there has as yet been no tangible change, particularly in the social realm. It was also stressed that in their discussion of the theses many communists drew attention to alarming tendencies.

"Some administrators have begun courting the workers. They are afraid that they will lose their positions if it comes to an election, and they are afraid of cadre turnover."

"There has been a weakening of decisiveness and independence in administrators' actions: on any issue they suggest 'discussing the question' or 'conferring,' thereby either slowing down quick and effective solutions, or preventing them altogether."

"The bureaucrats have stepped up their activities. Sometimes they demand that dozens of papers be submitted before we can obtain what we need and what is rightfully ours. Newly emerged RAPO bureaucrats are most apt to cite instructions, guidelines and bans."

Self-critically analyzing both these opinions and their own work in the post-April period, this Grodno Obkom Plenum considered above all ways of achieving qualitative improvement in the content, style and methods of the political management of restructuring.

Above all this means a decisive shift from paperwork to specific, daily work with people, a shift toward primary party organizations, cadres and questions pertaining to the education of communists. In this respect current figures are disturbing: during 1986 and 1987 a total of 737 persons were expelled from the CPSU, and one in four of those expelled had been a party member for only two or three years. A total of 131 persons were expelled from candidate membership in the party prior to completion of the period required for full membership. These data do not speak well of the standards and the level of comradely mutual assistance prevailing among communists. They are obviously lacking in adherence to principle when they are required to evaluate negative actions as well. One reprimand in six handed down by primary party organizations is subsequently reversed by gorkom or raykom buros; too lenient an attitude has been taken by collectives toward violators of party duty.

On two occasions last year the obkom had to look into the situation in Korelichskiy Rayon, where in 1987 twice as many communists were given administrative punishments for drunkenness as during the previous year. Does that mean that the raykom decided to compensate for shortcomings in its educational work by invoking penalties, it was asked at the plenum. High standards do not mean pressure or penalties. They involve activism and clear thinking on the part of each primary party organization, they involve intolerance of any and all violations of party discipline and ethics, intolerance of deviations from communist morality.

Naturally, party committees and their members should set an example in that regard. But here is what L. Belobokaya, first secretary of the Ostrovetskiy Raykom, said at the plenum: "By no means all cadres have shaken off their indifference, the administrative-command style of leadership is still prevalent, and the school of restructuring is proving to be a difficult one. There continues to be excessive caution and fear of glasnost — 'business as usual.' In October of last year, for example, raykom instructor A. Petrovich was arrested for being intoxicated behind the wheel of his private automobile during working hours. The arrest was witnessed by three members of the militia and by V. Bulavitskiy, head of the raykom's Organizational Department. Communists gave an unambiguous response to this incident: the guilty individual was expelled from the party. However, when

he wrote to the BSSR CP Central Committee to complain many people were intimidated. Staff members from the oblast's State Automobile Inspectorate and Procuracy went to the rayon to investigate the case, as did M. Yenka, chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, and A. Potapov, instructor of the obkom party commission. Each time witnesses were summoned, and 12 people gave affidavits, all of them more than once. And although all the investigators came away convinced that the raykom had approached the case in an objective manner, there is still no end to it in sight...

Higher standards for communists, and especially for party administrators, is an indispensable precondition for restructuring, emphasized plenum participants.

For example, M. Biryukova, secretary of the Grodno Party Obkom, said that "we cannot take a vacation from educational work. But as before its mass forms and means still predominate over individualized forms. As a result we often inform those who have already been informed and agitate the convinced, while those who are passive workers or show disregard for commonly accepted behavioral norms are not subject to the collective's educational influence. The issue of the morality and spiritual values of each individual is fundamental to the restructuring process. Our oblast's communists must not forget that there are thousands of broken homes, that in 60 families parents have been deprived of the right to bring up their children, and that 1,500 children are wards of the state."

The shift toward specific work with individuals is not measured by the number of individual consultations and reports heard, or by the number of party instructions circulated, but rather by actual knowledge of people's concerns and needs and the ability to react swiftly and responsibly to their critical comments and practical suggestions. That is what will yield real results and positive change.

It should be admitted frankly, stated a report by L. Kleiskov, first secretary of the Grodno Party Obkom, that the potential for party influence on the restructuring process has still not been utilized to its fullest. Basically we have created only the preconditions for widespread intensification of production and democratization of public affairs. The deeper factors of acceleration have not really begun to take effect yet.

We should note that communists are applying this strict accounting to themselves in an oblast which is by no means economically backward. On the contrary, the people of Grodno Oblast have achieved significant successes and can serve as an example of a high level of labor organization. Suffice it to say that in our oblast 103 million rubles more industrial production than promised was achieved, and labor productivity rose by 11.3 percent. A total of 74.8 percent of goods subject to classification fell in the highest quality category. And in the area of agriculture our oblast has already reached the goals set



forth in the Food Program for 1990! We have overfilled our plans for the building and renovation of housing and clubs. Yet all this was mentioned only in passing at the plenum, as part of mandatory accounting, and with the comment that results could have been better if all cadres had been fully prepared for the changes which restructuring has brought in their lives. Time and again speakers returned to the practices of party work, to errors in those practices, to the new guise of formalism. In his report A. Aleshin, first secretary of the Grodno Gorkom, presented and commented on the following data on elections of the party aktiv: a total of 378 party group organizers, 189 secretaries of shop party organizations and 167 secretaries of primary party organizations were chosen in elections with two or more candidates on the ballot.

"These figures are not bad," said A. Aleshin, "but in the system itself we are seeing elements of pretense, as well as some cases of feigned democracy. Did all candidates really have the same chance of winning the confidence of their collectives or of the voters? Did each candidate have his or her own program for real action? Probably not. There were also people who withdrew their candidacies — those who foresaw that they would not win votes."

On the other hand, the public forum also gave rise to demagogues whose objective it was to humiliate administrators, and there were anonymous letters, and a new kind of threat — that of being voted out of office. And party committees at all levels were not always able to protect good administrators from this scum and support them. In the opinion of A. Aleshin, we need to combine a genuinely democratic electoral system with a competitive system of candidate selection.

Another speech, and more examples of persistent formalism. These are the words of R. Gorlenko, party committee secretary of the Cafeteria and Restaurant Trust: "Over the past two years the operations of our party organization have been investigated on three occasions: by G. Petrashov, an obkom lecturer, T. Sidorevich, an instructor, and M. Gromyko, a consultant from the House of Political Education. Quite frankly, the style of their visits remains paperwork-bound and formalistic. They did not provide us with concrete practical assistance. In the wake of such inspections I am confused: am I doing my job correctly? And, in my opinion, it would be advisable to discuss the findings of the inspection with the party aktiv, reveal the causes of shortcomings and work together to develop a reasonable means of eliminating them. The most important thing is not merely the fact that an organization is visited, but rather how much benefit it derives from the visit."

If we compare this statement with I. Trofimov's letter in GRODNENSKAYA PRAVDA we arrive at the conclusion that this is one more fruit of restructuring: criticism of elective party organs from below is creating a serious

obstacle to administrative-command methods of leadership. The lessons of democracy are being learned and the level of rank-and-file communists' political culture is rising. And now their voices are being heard, both from the podium and through the open microphone.

"The obkom buro is discussing and attempting to resolve many issues. But what do we, the members of the obkom, know about them? Our critical comments and suggestions of possible solutions are not considered." (S. Soroko, milker at the Shchuchin Experimental Base)

"What kind of cost accounting is it if we cannot buy the equipment we need with the money we earn?" (N. Shnitko, worker)

"We produce over one million rubles of consumer goods above plan, and we make large profits, yet we cannot use those profits. Perhaps I, as a member of the obkom, am also to blame because I have not raised this issue with the administration forcefully enough. Now I feel that I cannot sit and wait for an invitation to the plenum; I must fight for innovation and defend my collective's opinion." (G. Pikta, head of a fitters' brigade, Novogrudskiy Gas Equipment Plant)

Yes, as was also noted in the keynote report, ever more stringent demands will be made of the methods of party leadership as restructuring deepens. Plenum participants protested the imposition of mandatory agendas for party meetings from above, and gave examples of cases when the very same question was discussed first by the communists of a primary party organization, then by the party raykom or gorkom. They also protested the fact that short-sighted objectives still impose "mandatory" directives from higher-level organs. Under conditions of self-financing and cost accounting such bypassing of the law is slowing down restructuring.

It was proposed that the authority of resolutions be increased by ensuring that they are fulfilled unconditionally. I. Burlyko, first secretary of the Lidskiy Raykom, gave an almost anecdotal example in this regard: the raykom decided that farms which sell 300 or more tons of grain above plan would receive an automobile. Eight farms in his rayon attained that high goal, yet only one car was awarded. This undermined confidence in the raykom's promises.

It was recommended that on-site plenums and buro meetings be held in individual rayons. Then there would be an opportunity to study in greater depth those rayon's experiences and problems and get the broader party aktiv involved in plenum preparations and in elimination of shortcomings!

It was noted that the system for conducting political information days, under which oblast-level administrators most often visit large party organizations, primarily



those in the production sphere, ignores small collectives, including ideological collectives. Administrators very seldom visit VUZs or scientific, planning and creative organizations.

It is probably a very good thing that at this plenum, as A. Antonovich, chairman of Bolshevik Kolkhoz in Volkovyskiy Rayon, put it, people did not blush at criticism, but at praise instead. If we have learned to accept criticism in a businesslike manner and praise seems inappropriate, then that means that progress is definitely being made toward new goals and appraisals. The change is for the better, in the direction of democratization of public affairs, an honest social policy and an economy that yields results.

12825

### **BSSR CP CC Meets With Raykom, Gorkom First Secretaries**

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[Article "Before the Difficult Road. Talks are Held With Party Raykom and Gorkom Secretaries at the Belorussian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] There are familiar faces in the hall. N. Bokhan, secretary of the Brest Party Gorkom, is writing something down. Not far away is Z. Malysheva, the leader of Pinsk communists. The Mozyrskiy Rayon party organization is represented by V. Gavrilenko. V. Kunitskiy has been invited from Ivatsevichi...

At the beginning of the meeting, they were very hushed and constrained: it does not frequently happen that the first secretary of a party gorkom or raykom is invited to a talk at the Central Committee of the republic CP. What is more, they are immediately cautioned to speak candidly, without notes, about the most important issues. They found this intimidating at first. Everyone present remembered full well how in this hall people accounted for everything down to the minutest detail. But now the request: let us talk as comrades, without official formalities and the consideration of rank about everything that is in our hearts.

A simple occurrence on one of the sovkhozes in the Ivatsevichskiy Rayon was the spark that ignited the discussions. As is appropriate in such cases, the official from the republic center was met by the director and the party committee secretary. They entered the office complex. The director's office was on the right, the party committee office was on the left. The director and the party committee secretary (a woman) both invited the official to their respective offices. The visitor entered the party committee office.

There was a small table and one chair next to it. There was also an iron cabinet (containing party files) bolted to the floor. There was nothing else in the room. The director was invited to sit down. But he said: Let us go

into my office. When he was invited to sit down a third time, he only said in embarrassment: "I understand everything." The luxuriant appointments of the director's office constituted the direct opposite: carpets, a wide sofa, modern chairs around a table and along the walls, a color TV, and a dazzling crystal carafe and glasses.

The picture taken from life proved to be instructive. It mirrored the official's attitude toward the party committee and the authority of the primary party organization. And after all, it is supposed to lead the collective to decisive restructuring.

Thus, the talk that started with a specific account that was related in the course of the discussions held with raykom and gorkom first secretaries at the Belorussian CP Central Committee extended to the main concern of the Belorussian party organization. And this is it.

Starting with the new year, all subdivisions of Gosagroprom and most enterprises in industry and construction in the republic will be converted to full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-support. How are the cadres being prepared for this? Do the party organizations' methods and modes of action correspond to the new demands? To what extent are the party committees capable of carrying out their increasingly complex tasks? Finally, how do the reports that are being submitted in party organizations on the direction of restructuring help republic communists to enter this new stage of activity?

The opinions of 48 persons were heard in the course of the discussion of the problems. There were heated dialogues at the roundtable, there were rejoinders, there were requests for greater detail about the new and the interesting. In a word, there was a party discussion in the party's house.

This has become the good rule in the Belorussian party organization: before setting out on a difficult road, hold a collective council and determine the most effective ways of resolving large-scale problems. It seems to us that the most successful form of work with cadres has been found: informal talks. This time, too, the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party was the site of in-depth analysis of concrete situations, candid dialogues with people. Different points of view were aired, kernels of experience were sought out. The bold, most effective solutions found a start in life.

A. Simurov and A. Ulitenok, our correspondents, asked YE. YE. SOKOLOV, first secretary, Belorussian CP Central Committee, to comment on the results of the talks.

When we invited the raykom and gorkom secretaries for a candid talk, we proceeded from the main tasks determined by the party for the new, very complex stage of

restructuring. As you will understand, this requires careful reflection and the in-depth analysis of all our work. Especially—the party's leadership of the economy under the new conditions of management.

Look what happened in the republic's capital. In 1986, Minsk enterprises lost 500 million rubles on products bearing the Quality Emblem. We criticized V. Galko, gorkom first secretary, harshly. What was the answer? The plenum was held. But it, as it subsequently turned out, did not make any progress in the problem. The collective of the motor bicycle plant was faced with a particular problem.

Then the problem was approached from another angle. A group from the gorkom and the raykom headed by first secretaries and leading city specialists visited the enterprise's party organization and got to the heart of the collective's affairs. It turned out that the tooling up for a new model of motorcycle took so long that it was obsolete before it was born. A collective of energetic communists—designers, technologists, workers—was created. People were given a material incentive. A union ministry joined in the action. A new motor was developed and tested in a short time. An entirely new model on a par with the best in the world will soon be rolling off the assembly line. The Minskites also transferred this experience to other collectives and thoroughly analyzed them. And the results have made themselves felt. Today, 71.4 percent of the certified products bear the Quality Emblem.

Another fact. This year, Luninetskiy grain farmers produced 45 quintals of feed units per hectare; by the end of the five-year plan, the figure will be raised to 60. But recently, the yield was 27 quintals. What is helping them to make such broad strides? Friendship with science—well-conceived and planned—has become the rule for N. Prosytskiy, Luninetskiy Gorkom first secretary, and other rayon party organization leaders. Their first helpers now are scientists, reclamation workers, animal husbandrymen, and crop growers.

We have armed ourselves with the comparative analysis method. It is very helpful when we get down to the causes of different results of work performed under the same conditions. Take, for example, indicators of the agrarian sector of two oblasts: Grodno and Minsk. What do they indicate? Minskites did not reach the level of Grodnoites for crop yield or milk production. And it would seem that the situation should be reversed because almost all the republic's agricultural science is concentrated in Minsk Oblast.

The need for the unity of words and deeds was emphasized once again. We now give short shrift to chatterboxes, windbags, lovers of flowery phrases, and masters of unbinding obligations. I will cite an example. The CC Buro examined the question of improving population centers. In particular, it was decided to blacktop the roads of all settlements in which there are more than 20

houses before the end of the five-year plan. Some oblasts have compiled a precise program and this work has commenced. The year and month in which the streets of each village will be improved is specified. Other villages, on the other hand, do not even think of this. This is an example where words are not reinforced by actions.

The following situation was also examined in the course of the talks. The same leader or party organization secretary are often evaluated differently. From the standpoint of the raykom or gorkom, they may be good because they present their reports on time and are eloquent speakers at meetings, while in the opinion of communists they are not suitable and do not have the right to head the collective in the critical stage of restructuring. These evaluations are made from different positions and are guided by different criteria. Here, again, we accept one criterion: not words and assurances but tangible actions in the interest of restructuring.

During the talks, much was said about the more purposeful and intensive education of all categories of cadres. The conversion of the majority of work collectives to self-support and self-financing requires the better mastery of economic knowledge. Unfortunately, the level of preparation of many personnel in the economic services of enterprises, organizations, and farms is as yet low. Work collectives have been assigned the task of bringing their workers into higher skill groups. The efforts of Chervenskiy Rayon communists have been supported. At the initiative of A. Metelskiy, raykom first secretary, a system has been developed for training leaders, specialists, middle-level cadres, and workers in the mass occupations. For already 2 years now, the Chervenskiyites have combined economic studies with vocational training. Two thousand of them have confirmed and 450 have raised their skill level. And what is also very important: training everywhere is being brought closer to production—26 training classes are in operation in equipment yards, on farms, and in brigades.

Many interesting forms and methods of work have appeared in party organizations of late. Sociological research and field sittings of party committee buros are widely incorporated into practice. An elected aktiv is now more frequently invited to prepare summaries and obkom, gorkom and raykom members are invited to buro sessions.

Forms of intraparty democracy in the preparation and presentation of reports on the leadership of restructuring have been appreciably enriched. The Mogilev Obkom, for example, launched the preparation for a report plenum with a speech by first secretary V. Leonov in the oblast newspaper inviting the elected aktiv, communists, and all working people to join in the open discussion. Remarks and proposals are incorporated in the report. Other members of the obkom buro then present reports in the newspaper on a number of problems.

Minsk communists decided to hold sociopolitical discussions in a number of work collectives. They focused on the most pressing problems: the responsibility of communists for the course of restructuring; the problem of resolving the city's housing problem before the year 2000; the restructuring of the system of Marxist-Leninist education; and the problem of increasing the activism of Komsomol members and youth in restructuring affairs.

Party organizations in the Tsentralnyy Rayon of Gomel, where the raykom is headed by A. Kuskova, are conducting an interesting search. They have in particular made it the practice for departments to formulate long-range plans that are approved together with the adoption of the resolutions of the buro and plenums. This is instrumental in organizing oversight over their fulfillment from the first day and in increasing the effectiveness of the functioning of the party apparatus in general.

In a word, the talks help to put an end to a half-knowledge of the state of affairs at the local level; to see the diversity of new forms and methods of party work under the conditions of restructuring, which is gaining momentum; and to feel the search and innovative approaches of the communists. It is also a pleasure to note that most secretaries of party committees do not give others a dressing-down but give an accounting of their own activities instead. We have recommended that these innovations, which have made intraparty life more active, be adopted more boldly everywhere.

The democratization of party life unquestionably presupposes the spirit of bolshevik boldness and openness, and the in-depth analysis of the work of party organizations and every individual communist. At the same time, it is very important that the entire content of such work not boil down—as was previously the case—to formalism and overorganization, but that it be responsive to the specific tasks, character, scale, and novelty of the problems that arise under the new conditions of operation.

Participants in the talks were particularly exacting in their analysis of the course of the reports of party committees and buros on work pertaining to the leadership of restructuring. It was found that the level of a number of meetings did not entirely correspond to the demands of the CPSU Central Committee. In particular, there were serious shortcomings in the preparation and conduct of the plenum of the Borisovskiy Gorkom, of meetings of communists in party organizations of the BSSR Ministry of Construction Materials, the Main Administration for Crop Growing of the republic Gosagroprom, and certain others.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee resorted to stern measures in this regard. In our decision, we recommended that report meetings be temporarily halted. Party committees have been directed to carefully analyze the first practice and, where it is unsatisfactory, to

organize a follow-up, deeper, and more principled discussion. There must be no place for silence and indifference in deciding the fate of restructuring in any collective. Otherwise we cannot travel the difficult road.

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**Masaliev on Kirghiz Nationality Issues,  
Religious Influence**  
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[Speech by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, at the republic scientific and practical conference: "Raise Patriot-Internationalists: Improving Patriotic and Inter-Ethnic Indoctrination in the Labor Collective Is an Important Condition for Accelerating Socioeconomic and Cultural Development"]

[Excerpts] Comrades! Esteemed Guests!

The human race suffered from social and national oppression for centuries. And we are proud that only the Great October Socialist Revolution opened the way to true equality and fraternity among working people of all nations and ethnic groups and to their free, comprehensive development.

The Soviet State's 70 years of experience has convincingly demonstrated the historical truth of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the organic link between nationality questions and class struggle. As we know, Marx and Engels proved that the nation is a product of capitalist society. Capitalism gave rise to the nationality question, but is unable to resolve it. This is because the actual inequality of peoples is a result of intra-nationality class antagonism. Only with the elimination of the exploitation of one human being by another, Marx and Engels wrote, will the hostile relations of nations among themselves fall away.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin creatively developed the ideas of Marxism on nationality problems. He formulated a harmonious system of views on national liberation movements, their link with the revolutionary process, and joining the class struggle of the proletariat with the struggle against national enslavement. Lenin substantiated the ways to mold a new historical type of nations, socialist nations, and to achieve equal, friendly relations among them. He worked out scientifically the principle of self-determination of nations and the legal-political foundations for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its strength is guaranteed by the complete mutual trust, consent, and equality of the Soviet republics. "Against the old world, the world of national oppression, national squabbling, and national isolation," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "the workers pit the



new world of unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is absolutely no place for any privilege or for any oppression of one human being by another."

The results of the implementation of the Leninist nationality policy were vividly embodied in the destiny of the Kirghiz people. Starting practically from nothing Kirghizistan has, in a short historical period under the direction of the Communist Party and relying on enormous help, first of all from the Russian people and the other fraternal Soviet peoples, become an industrial-agrarian republic with highly developed industry, agriculture, science, and culture.

We have learned from our own experience that the socialist system has ensured:

—in the first place, the elimination of de facto inequality among peoples and steady evening out of the levels of their economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development;

—in the second place, careful consideration and satisfaction of nationality interests, a concern for nationality feelings, and a combination of nationality interests with general, interethnic interests;

—in the third place, it has broken down nationality barriers, eliminated the social causes of nationality inequality, and created conditions for the flourishing of the economies and cultures of all peoples.

In other words, interethnicism became the grounds for the interaction of people of different nationalities, their psychology, everyday ways, and traditions, and new socialist nationality relations arose. Friendship of peoples is their concentrated expression. It encompasses not only relations among nations, ethnic groups, and national groups, but also interpersonal relations. This is a mighty moral and material force of our society.

Nationality relations do not exist in some kind of isolated form. They appear as one of the facets of economic, social, political, and cultural relations and are developing constantly. This is, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has observed, a vital question of real life. And it must be considered in all its complexity and contradictions.

The materials of the 27th party congress and the January and June 1987 Plenums of the Central Committee as well as Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's report on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution give a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the processes taking place in this sphere. The CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization on Inter-Ethnic and Patriotic Indoctrination of the Working People" is an important all-party document.

The restructuring that has unfolded in the country has uncovered many shortcomings and mistakes in the area of inter-ethnic relations which were in the shadows until recently and not discussed openly. Among others, we are becoming aware of shortcomings in forming an industrial working class, the backwardness of the social sphere, and the relaxation of the struggle against religious prejudices, drunkenness, alcoholism, and non-labor income. Distortion of the nationality composition of the contingent of college students and perversions of inter-ethnic personnel policy have been permitted. A retreat from the class position in treatment of the past has been observed among some of the creative intelligentsia, and there have been attempts to embellish the history of one people and diminish the role of others. There are serious shortcomings in the development of the Kirghiz language and in the study of Russian and other languages.

All this has served as a breeding ground for nationalistic and chauvinistic phenomena. And republic party committees, above all the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, have not always responded quickly and correctly to them and have permitted inertia and delay in eliminating the factors that have led to deformations in nationality relations. The CPSU Central Committee presented a critical and principled evaluation of these matters.

The meeting of republic party activists in February of this year made a critical analysis of the state of inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination of the working people and outlined concrete measures to overcome serious problems that exist. These issues were reviewed at plenums of party committees and meetings of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

In our practical activities we must constantly and tirelessly take account of the interests of the citizens who are living in the republic. According to figures from the KSSR State Committee for Statistics, at the start of 1987 there were 4,137,000 persons living in our republic, including 2,175,000 Kirghiz (52 percent); 954,000 Russians (23 percent); 454,000 Uzbeks (11 percent); 119,000 Ukrainians (2.8 percent); 109,000 Germans (2.5 percent); and 77,000 Tatars (1.9 percent). I have only mentioned the ethnic groups that have the largest percentages. We should note that since 1970 the number of Kirghiz has increased by 89,000, Russians by 98,000, and Uzbeks by 123,000. There has been growth in virtually all nationality and ethnic groups.

Major changes are taking place in the ethnic composition of enterprises and farms. Therefore, party committees and public organizations should shift the focus of all work on inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination to labor collectives. This is where the concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practice and people's social activism, inter-ethnic consciousness, and relations of friendship and comradesly mutual assistance are molded.

But the economic aspects of nationality relations still have not taken their proper place in the organizational and indoctrination work of party organizations. The equipment and raw and processed materials we receive are not used wisely at many enterprises. In the first 9 months of the year the Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, for example, overexpended 780,000 tons of diesel fuel. Construction organizations and numerous machine building enterprises are still using metal wastefully. There is above-norm, uninstalled equipment worth more than 29 million rubles, some of it imported, lying in warehouses.

The quality of output produced has not become a matter of national pride and patriotic duty for many collectives. In the first 9 months 112 economic penalties were imposed on industrial enterprises and assorted articles worth more than 5 million rubles were found defective.

These are both economic and political issues. National wealth is created by the labor of all the Soviet peoples and indoctrinating the working people in the spirit of thrifty management is an important element in strengthening the friendship of peoples and in successful development of the country's unified national economic complex. High quality output and economical use of material-technical and raw material resources also characterize the cultural level and maturity of each nation and ethnic group.

Systematic fulfillment of plans for delivery of output to customers in other regions of the country is a concrete manifestation of inter-nationalism. Unfortunately, things are not going well for us here, especially in the current year. The volume of underdeliveries of articles continues to grow. In the first 10 months it was more than 78 million rubles, which is slightly above 2.5 times more than in the corresponding period of last year. Collectives at many industries of light industry and the machine building complex have permitted a serious lag in fulfillment of contract obligations.

Sociological studies done at the Kirghiz Worsted Fabric Combine, the Agricultural Machine Building Plant imeni M. V. Frunze, the building materials association, and the Talas branches of the footwear and garment associations showed that the competition which had unfolded among us under the slogan "All deliveries to fraternal republics—on time and outstanding in quality!" has in reality petered out. Of the workers of different nationalities who were questioned 53-98 percent did not know who their associated enterprises were and could not say anything about Kirghizia's economic ties with other regions of the country.

This illustrates that party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations still have not been able to bring their ideological efforts into touch with practical economic tasks. Inter-ethnicism has not been transformed from slogans and appeals into a vital cause of the collective, of each worker. There is something to be done here by the

secretariat and departments of the Central Committee. What we need today is not formal contacts with partners, but rather specific contracts on cooperation and regular exchange of information among collectives, workers, and specialists.

Comrades! The country's unified national economic complex is an embodiment of the Leninist idea of solidarity of nations and peoples, of combining and fully merging all their resources, of creating joint production, distribution, and use of social product. Understandably, the greater the contribution of each republic and each region, the greater will be the efficiency of the country's entire economy and the more successfully national tasks will be solved. And in turn, this makes it possible to satisfy nationality interests more fully. A disruption of the inter-ethnic and nationality aspects leads to serious problems.

It should be recognized that the attentive and solicitous attitude of the state to our socioeconomic and cultural needs has often been taken for granted. And in recent years, especially in the 1970's, negative trends in the economy and in the social and cultural spheres began to grow and dependency attitudes were manifested.

In 1985 the productivity of our public labor was barely 72 percent of the all-Union level. And in the 9th-11th Five-Year Plans Kirghizia's contribution to production of national income rose only slightly. Animal husbandry was in an unsatisfactory condition. All this led to a decline in the level of well-being of the population relative to average USSR indicators.

Consumerism struck even science. While receiving greater subsidies it did not distinguish itself. In the recent period our Academy of Sciences has not had a single invention of USSR significance to its credit. The last five-year plan was also a fruitless one in its history. Not one progressive technology was formulated, nor did they develop a single fundamentally innovative machine or device.

As we have mentioned earlier, there were serious breakdowns in the training of specialists, more representatives of the indigenous nationality were admitted to VUZes, and cases of protectionism and mutual back-scratching were allowed, which aroused just indignation among the working people. These distortions have now been eliminated.

There is no question that the mutual aid of USSR people continues today to be one of the fundamental principles of the party's Leninist nationality policy. But when it is understood in a one-sided manner, when proper concern for equivalent exchange is not shown in the republics and oblasts, and when local reserves for development are not used actively for this purpose, then this consumer attitude will nourish national egoism. This has a bad influence on people's cultural and moral state and on molding the culture of inter-ethnic relations.

The CPSU begins from the idea that further strengthening of the USSR as a multi-national state and bringing the Soviet nations and ethnic groups closer together depend on the development of the unified national economic complex. Our country's economy is an organically fused economic organism built on the basis of the general sociopolitical, economic, and ideological goals and interests of all the Union republics.

The restructuring that is underway in our country, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev points out, must reveal the potential of socialism, move society to new frontiers, and ensure that a new quality of life is attained in all spheres: economic and social.

Therefore, restructuring must also ensure a new quality in nationality relations. And above all this means through democratization, through instilling Soviet people with the feeling that they are masters of their country, and eliminating and overcoming national egotism, arrogance, and narrowness.

The usual norms of interaction among Soviet people have become the feelings of class solidarity, social justice, mutual aid, and friendship. But as restructuring requires, even here we have much to do. The paramount thing should be a feeling of responsibility for the development not just of one's own republic, but also for the entire country. Restructuring places before us the challenge of improving by every means the use of the economic and spiritual potential of our country in the interests of the national economic complex. For not only are production collectives going onto cost accounting, self-payback, and self-financing; so are republics. This compels everyone in Kirghizstan, all enterprises, farms, and organizations to sharply improve the efficiency and quality of work in all areas: in the development of scientific-technical progress, in the social sphere, and in organization and discipline.

It can be reported today that in working out the prospects for economic development we envisioned fuller use of the mineral-raw material and fuel-energy resources that we have and rapid growth in the able-bodied population. On this basis the plans contain higher rates of development of the industrial sectors than the national average. In solving social problems, above all increasing per capita consumption of the basic food products, the emphasis is on our own reserves. We have them at all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and personal plots.

We consider fulfillment of plans for delivery of agricultural products to USSR funds to be a very important inter-ethnic duty. The rural working people of the republic completed the assignments for the first 2 years of the five-year plan for state purchases of meat, milk, eggs, wool, grain, vegetables, potatoes, melons, raw cotton, and other output ahead of schedule. In the past 2 years the milk yield per cow has increased almost 300 kilograms and the live weight of cattle being turned over for

processing has risen 37 kilograms. This has permitted some improvement in supplying food to the working people, but the main work in this direction is still ahead of us.

Comrades! Restructuring has created a new moral-political atmosphere in labor collectives, an atmosphere of glasnost and openness. People have become more aware of their rights and opportunities and the personal interest in production affairs has been awakened. Personnel policy has begun to have real democratic content. Collectives themselves have elected more than 200 managers this year, from directors to shop heads. The mandate was entrusted to those working people distinguished, above all, by political, work, and moral qualities.

The will of the collective has stopped attempts to promote people into management positions on the basis of hometowns or friendship. Democratization regulates the nationality composition of personnel in a just and principled manner and is eliminating the disproportions that exist in this area. For example, in the last 2 years the number of Russians among nomenklatura employees of the Central Committee has increased four percent, there are more Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Germans, Dzungars, and Jews, and the representation of other nationalities living in the republic also rose.

At the same time, democratic nomination of managers taking the opinion of the working people and public organizations into account does not always correlate with the nationality composition of the particular collective. And this sometimes arouses panic among those who are accustomed to speaking in the language of obsession with quotas. I do not think there need be any grounds for alarm, that the rights of a particular nationality group will be infringed.

For example, the collective of the October Sovkhoz Wine Combine in Suzakskiy Rayon, 70 percent of whose members are Kirghiz, elected a Russian to be plant director, and before him it was a Ukrainian. At the Khaydarkan Mercury Combine which employs chiefly Russians, Kirghizes, and Tajiks, they elected a Tatar director. Or take the Tokmak Primary Wool Processing Factory, where 31 brigade leaders were elected: 70 percent are Russians, 20 percent German, and 10 percent Kirghiz. There is no correlation with nationality composition there, but the collectives elected their leaders orally, with broad discussion, giving no privileges and making no allowances. This is democracy and justice. Where this kind of consensual approach is taken no one will be insulted or infringed upon.

But there are many shortcomings in personnel work. For example, more than one-third of the workers in light industry and capital construction are representatives of the indigenous nationality, while among specialists and managers they account for about 19 percent. Or for example, 22 percent of those employed in motor vehicle



transportation are Uzbeks, while they comprise less than 5 percent of the managers and 11 percent of the engineering-technical personnel.

In the machine building, electrical engineering, and electronics industries the group of national cadres reaches just 16 percent, and at certain enterprises it is even lower. At the Kirgizelektromash Association it is just nine percent, at the Tyazhelektromash Plant 7.6 percent, and at the computer plant 8.2 percent. There are few representative of the indigenous nationality among specialists there, specifically, not a single shop chief. The situation is similar at the Agricultural Machinery Plant imeni M. V. Frunze, although it does have shops where a majority of the workers are representatives of the indigenous nationality.

This is, of course, not normal. Planned, regulatory intervention is required here. We need to radically improve the training of the national technical intelligentsia. More local young people, mainly from the group of talented workers, should be sent to VUZes. In this matter the collectives themselves should be given broader authority and be actively involved in training personnel.

We must restore the tutoring system and purge formalism and the routine approach from this remarkable patriotic initiative. Only one out of eight of the 25,000 young workers in light industry has a tutor. At the Plant imeni M. V. Frunze young people of the indigenous nationality, who for the most part come from the villages and do not have worker occupations, are sent to work as laborers in semifinished parts shops. As a result certain production areas have artificially developed exclusive nationality representation. The same kind of separation exists in the worker dormitories.

The plant party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations do not see this problem, which demands practical efforts from them. But this large machine building enterprise formerly had good traditions of careful indoctrination of national worker cadres and tutoring. Bringing them back would help bring inter-ethnic aspects into people's lives and make inter-ethnic relations more sophisticated.

Democratization has greatly broadened the zone of social actions of the labor collective and breathed new life into the activity of the public institutions through which working people take part in production management. Glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, frankness, and truthful information create an atmosphere of mutual trust and a responsible attitude toward the work. People no longer want to accept a situation where problems that affect their interests are reviewed without considering collective opinion.

"The process of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism," as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized, "is going forward on a healthy basis in our country. And it plays an enormous role in joining together all the efforts of society to

carry out progressive transformations in the interests of the people and socialism based on the principles of restructuring." This concerns the sphere of nationality relations too. By removing negative phenomena from our life we at the same time help strengthen trust and friendship among people of different nationalities.

The Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party recently reviewed the issue of serious violations of the principle of social justice in the distribution of housing in the republic. The Central Committee decree was published in the press.

An inspection showed that in many cities new apartments with improved layout and finishing were set aside for persons occupying high official positions. This often involved exceeding the established norm of housing space. At the same time there were 126,000 families on the lists for improved housing conditions as of 1 July of last year including the families of war invalids, internationalist-soldiers, soldiers and officers who were killed, and other groups enjoying legitimate privileges. The bureau of the Central Committee and party committees punished the guilty persons strictly and outlined steps to eliminate these offenses.

Perversions of the norms of social justice not only in the distribution of housing and material goods but also in awarding prizes and honorable titles have a deadly effect on the moral atmosphere and hinder the establishment of honest, open, genuinely human relations among representatives of different nations. These matters should be resolved everywhere, and only on a broad democratic basis.

The leaders of labor collectives have a special responsibility here. In large part the harmonious, unified work of their people depends on their professional qualities, ideological and moral toughening, and personal modesty and sensitivity. V.I. Lenin pointed out, "The leader is responsible not only for how he leads but also for what those under him do."

Under conditions of restructuring, glasnost, and democratism every management employee is expected to be above all a political guide to the collective, an indoctrinator and ideologist. He must have a good knowledge of the fundamentals of the Leninist nationality policy, take a careful approach to questions of people's inter-ethnic dealings, and strengthen social justice everywhere so that there is not the slightest reason to reproach him for favoring the representatives of some particular nationality.

Unfortunately, some managers remove themselves from indoctrination work, do not watch over establishing a sense of great responsibility in the collective, do not take proper steps to mold the national working class, and do not strive for spiritual solidarity of their people on an inter-ethnic basis. In sociological testing 10 percent of

the Russians and 1 percent of the Kirghiz workers questioned at the Agricultural Machinery Plant imeni M. V. Frunze and the worsted fabric combine as well as 17 percent of the Germans and 3 percent of the Kirghiz workers from the two Talas branches of Frunze associations observed that relations in their collectives were not friendly, that there were groups divided up by nationality. Some of the workers indicated that they were people with nationalistic and chauvinistic views in their milieu.

This testifies to serious mistakes in indoctrination work. Not all party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations have drawn the proper conclusions from the decree of the Central Committee of the SSR Communist Party entitled, "Negative Phenomena among Young People of the City of Frunze and Measures to Step up Work on Inter-Ethnic and Moral Indoctrination." Indifference, complacency, and a simplistic, superficial approach to evaluating the situation in this crucial sector of the ideological front have not been eliminated.

We assess the nationalistic and chauvinistic phenomena as primarily a result of the low political sophistication of certain people. But the struggle needs to be waged not against the results, but against that which gives rise to them, creates the seedbed for them. This must be done in a principled and democratic manner. Even in these cases, Lenin said, we must show a maximum of sensitivity for nationality feelings. Doing otherwise can only alienate people. Vladimir Ilich warned that "alienating people generally plays a very bad role in politics."

The vigorous restructuring of the economic mechanism that is underway today promotes merging the interests of the individual and the collective on the one hand, and of the collective and society on the other. This provides the basis for even greater solidarity of working people of different nationalities, enhances their labor and sociopolitical activism, and improves its qualitative level.

As studies have shown, it is not accidental that multinational brigades working on a real contract and cost accounting have healthy microclimates where people are both supportive and demanding of one another and are unified by common interests, concerns, and aspirations.

It is a mistake to think that a good moral situation is automatically created in the labor collective when it switches to cost accounting and contract work. Organizational and indoctrination work has been crucial and it will continue to be so in the future. The policy of acceleration and renewal is dictated by the need for fundamental changes in the style and methods of the work. As Lenin teaches, ideological indoctrination work should respond sensitively, like a living organism, to the slightest changes in social life.

As you know, there are agitators, lecturers, political information specialists, and propagandists at the enterprises, farms, and organizations, but their contribution to ideological-political indoctrination is inefficient. This

is mainly because of formalism. Few lectures are given on the problems of inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination. As a rule they treat questions of nationality relations only on the positive level, without showing the existing difficulties and contradictions. But there can be no indoctrination without the truth. This leads to the very low effectiveness of lectures. Only 4-13 percent of workers of all nationalities questioned at six enterprises in Frunze, Osh, and Talas stated that the lectures they had heard in their collectives were of some benefit to them.

Political education is also ineffective in our region. It does not exert the proper influence to molding the individual's inter-ethnic position and does not help the working people master Marxist-Leninist theory in the area of nationality relations. Sociological studies in many labor collectives have demonstrated that workers and specialists do not know the works of Lenin on the problems well. Almost one-sixth of the persons questioned could not answer the question: how do you understand the essence of the party's Leninist nationality policy? Many have a very dim and generalized idea of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress on this issue.

Today, when education is being restructured the party organizations and the large contingent of our propagandists must fundamentally change their attitude toward teaching the working people, root out formalism, and instill people with a taste for theory. This especially applies to studying the fundamentals of nationality policy. We must instill in the working people a down-to-earth, not formalistic sense of inter-ethnic relations, we must not pass over the most sensitive nationality problems in silence, but must talk about them openly and truthfully.

The indoctrinational role of the labor collective and its active inter-ethnic position depend decisively on how vital and militant the party organization is. The first phase of the review of primary party organizations has ended in the republic. During it the work of this most important party element on carrying out the economic and social tasks posed by the 27th CPSU Congress was analyzed. At the present time party bureaus and committees are giving reports on implementation of restructuring.

During the review a great deal of attention was devoted to how the party organizations are playing their mobilizing role in inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination of the working people. Small items of experience in this work were summarized. It is especially effective in those places where it is closely tied to specific socioeconomic tasks.

Comrades! In our republic we have representatives of nationalities living together in compact groups: 29,000 Germans, 27,000 Dungans, 10,000 Meskhetian Turks, and other nations and ethnic groups. An absolute majority of them labor conscientiously, take an active part in

public political life, and show themselves to be true patriots of our multinational Soviet Homeland. In our work on inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination we try to consider the interests and desires of all nationality groups.

In the last 5 years the admission of persons of German nationality to the ranks of the CPSU has increased by 16.5 percent, of Uigurs by 32 percent, and Dungans by 16 percent. Their representation in elective party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs and among management personnel has increased. In the last elections 714 Germans, 214 Dungans, 114 Uigurs, and 14 Crimean Tatars were elected to be delegates to local soviets on various levels. Steps are being taken to satisfy their cultural needs more fully. This is promoted, among other things, by the development of amateur artistic activity and forming national ensembles, of which there are 20 German, 17 Dungan, 8 Uigur, and 6 Kurd.

But there are also serious shortcomings in work with these population groups. For example, it is noteworthy that more representatives of the Uigur, Dungan, Kurd, and Turkish nationalities work in the service sphere, not in the sectors of material production. And the service collectives are generally small and of a single nationality. In them people do not acquire the practical habits of inter-ethnic dealings. It is also alarming that the general educational level of these categories of the population is not rising as fast as the republic average. In general, young people complete secondary school and show no desire to go further.

The increased interest of a certain part of the German population in emigration must be considered also. The number of Germans expressing a desire to leave the USSR has increased. The party committees, above all the Frunze and Tokmak city committees and the Issyk-Atinskiy, Kantskiy, and Sokulukskiy rayon committees have not struggled consistently against such attitudes. The activity of public commissions on travel abroad and influence groups in labor collectives and at places of residence has been left uncontrolled. We must draw concrete conclusions from this, intensify individual work among all nationality groups to instill civil attitudes and love for the Homeland, and expose the subversive actions of the Western propaganda services, which sow dissension and mistrust among Soviet people.

In inter-ethnic relations we must establish sincerity, mutual support, and solicitous attention to one another regardless of nationality affiliation. The atmosphere in society itself, in the labor collectives, and in the household sphere should promote this.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that always and in everything party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations should consistently implement the principles of CPSU nationality policy—a policy of equality of all the country's nations and ethnic groups. In their practical work they must uphold the policy of ensuring

fair representation of them in elective and economic organs. Any attempts at nationality discrimination, especially in matters of receiving education, job placement, and study of the native language, must be decisively stopped.

We must raise the sophistication of inter-ethnic dealings and struggle against any offenses to national feelings or elevating certain nations over others. There is no place in socialist society for anti-Semitism or any other manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, and racism. We must do everything possible to step up the activity of the public formations for patriotic and inter-ethnic indoctrination of party committees.

Comrades! We continue to face a critical problem of involving our multi-national young people in industrial types of work. A high proportion of industrial workers in a nation's composition is an indicator of its social maturity. It is the working class that acts as the most consistent bearer and conductor of the ideas of internationalism and overcoming national exclusiveness. This determines its special role and importance in improving inter-nationality relations and strengthening the friendship of the Soviet peoples.

It should be observed that the number of workers and employees in our region is constantly growing. More representatives of the local population are being drawn into industry. But overall the proportion of Kirghiz is only one-fifth of the working class, while in agriculture they constitute about four-fifths. The proportion of Uzbeks, Dungans, and Uigurs is also low. Of course, there are also objective factors involved here, in particular that the indigenous population lives chiefly in the countryside where industry is poorly developed. But there are also serious shortcomings in this matter caused by the lack of planned work. The question deserves special review by the Central Committee and government.

We need a fundamental improvement in all work on vocational orientation with consideration of the real situation. This work must be closely correlated with social programs to improve the culture and everyday habits of the population. In the rural schools we must set up more machine workshops with up-to-date equipment and more technical creativity study groups. Industrial enterprises are expected to play a large role in the vocational orientation of secondary students. We must develop and enlarge their sponsorship relations with the countryside and not limit it to help with seasonal jobs. It should also include active assistance to students in choosing worker professions and involving them in individual labor. Such help would be in the long-standing inter-ethnic traditions of the working class.

Small enterprises, branches, and shops must be opened in the rural areas and in the rayon centers. We have some experience with this. For example, a group of electrical equipment plants is located in Issyk-Kul Oblast and



representatives of the local nationality readily work there. They constitute 50-70 percent of the total work force as compared to 10-15 percent in Frunze and republic-subordinate rayons.

Or take the gold combine built in remote Toguz-Torousskiy Rayon. It was provided with a work force mainly from the indigenous young people and they, together with Russians and representatives of other nationalities, are performing the assigned tasks. By continuing to locate production forces this way in the future we will be able to ensure more even economic and cultural development of all regions of the republic.

Sending local young people to vocational-technical schools in the fraternal republics also promotes inter-ethnic relations. Last year and in the first 8 months of this year more than 1,500 people went away to study, including more than 1,000 young men and women of the indigenous nationality. More local residents are now being sent to work in regions of Siberia and the Far East too. We will continue to expand this practice in the future.

The question of expanding the system of industrial-type vocational-technical schools is also on the agenda. According to calculations by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences there should be 4-5 times more vocational-technical school graduates in industry and construction than there are today. But the number of them being trained has even declined, although the absolute number of persons employed in these sectors is rising. It cannot be considered normal that young people of the indigenous nationality constitute only 20 percent of the students in urban vocational-technical schools.

Young people are not securely attached to production. An analysis conducted among workers in Frunze who were discharged showed that they were usually young people between the ages of 19 and 24. Among Russians the figure was 59 percent, and among Kirghizes it was 70 percent. And most of these are former rural residents. They were discharged mainly because of failure to organize their everyday life and dissatisfaction with working conditions.

We do have some positive examples. For example, the mobility rate of workers of the indigenous nationality is declining at the Kirgizavtomash Production Association while their proportion in the collective is rising and is now one-third. Individual and brigade training is organized at the enterprise for young people just arrived from the rural areas; they are given dormitory housing and actively involved in public, mass cultural, and sports work. The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and managers of the association understand that the effectiveness of inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination demands solid socioeconomic support.

The organization of inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination in single-nationality labor collectives demands special attention. Such collectives have developed historically in Naryn Oblast and in some mountainous rayons of Osh and Talas Oblasts. Significant problems are also arising in these regions with the study of the Russian language. For a number of objective and subjective reasons representatives of the European nationality are not staying there.

We must think through and carry out practical steps to draw a non-indigenous population to work in the rural rayons, especially the remote ones, and create appropriate conditions. We must do everything possible to help representatives of other nationalities become involved in the work of herdsmen and see that this occupation is held by various nationalities. We know that at present sheep herding, which is the leading sector of animal husbandry, is done mainly by Kirghizes who have a poor knowledge of Russian. For this reason alone more than one-third of the young people from Naryn Oblast who are drafted into the Soviet Army serve in construction units.

In order to keep cadres of specialists of various nationalities in the countryside, we should accelerate development of the social sphere—build more housing, children's preschool institutions, general educational schools, clubs, and hospitals. In short, the level of social-domestic conditions should meet contemporary demands.

This is the level on which the party organizations of Maukatskiy Rayon are structuring their work. At the Rossiya, imeni Chapayev, imeni Telman, Madaniyat, and other kolkhozes farm capital is being used to build housing that is as good as urban housing, and schools, children's combines, public health, cultural, and sports facilities, and trade and domestic service enterprises are under construction. Practical concern for people is fostering a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere in the collectives and harmonious work by representatives of the more than 30 nationalities who live in the rayon.

An important element in instilling inter-ethnicism is molding and introducing socialist formalities and new rituals. It is no secret that conservative traditions and harmful customs create barriers to strengthening friendship among peoples. They are especially vigorous in single-nationality environments.

For example, in Alayskiy, Sovetskiy, Ak-Talinskiy, and At-Bashinskiy rayons adherence to the patriarchal way is strong among a certain part of the population. In some towns not even Kirghizes sent there by assignment from other regions of the republic can feel at home. These vestiges of the past lead not only to provincialism but also to nationalistic phenomena.

At the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade M. S. Gorbachev emphasized, "We must not lose sight of the special delicacy of the nationality aspects of the particular problem, the folk traditions in people's way of life, psychology, and behavior. All these things must be considered very carefully." We must draw concrete conclusions from these ideas and intensify the struggle with falsely understood nationality interests, usually related to outdated customs and religious prejudices.

The Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party recently approved the know-how of the Kirovskiy Rayon party committee in rooting out vestiges of the past and establishing new rituals. The raykom was able to involve all its deputies, veterans of the war and labor, activists of the women's councils, the street and block committees, and cultural and public education employees. Commissions were set up at executive committees to direct all activity in introducing new, Soviet rituals, which are inter-ethnic in form. Now the population itself is already opposing the excessive luxury, waste, and lordly scale with which weddings, funerals, and other events used to be conducted.

The introduction of socialist rituals cleanses nationality feelings of everything imposed and harmful. But during certain rituals, in particular such a sad event as the funeral, distinctive national features are still observed. Even in this delicate sphere people must be instilled with a sense of shared experience and suffering. This will enoble inter-ethnic relations.

Many progressive rituals that affirm the great moral value of labor have been molded and become well established in labor collectives. Inter-national holidays of cities, towns, and streets are becoming popular. They unite people with feelings of fraternity and comradeship. The population responded warmly to the Day of Memory, which was held for the first time this year.

The clubs, museums, and centers of revolutionary, combat, and labor glory set up at enterprises and schools should be the centers of propaganda for socialist rituals. The Cholponbay Tuleberdiyev Museum in Talas Oblast is working effectively in this area. But most of the cultural and educational institutions have not gotten on their feet in this work.

Many party, soviet, Komsomol, and economic organs refer to a poor material base for introducing new traditions. There are difficulties, of course, but they can be overcome if one takes a business-like and enterprising approach. In Lyaulyskiy Rayon the clan leaders declared an all-people's "khashar." Young and old, people of different nationalities—Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Russians, and Tatars—joined hands to build sociocultural facilities. From personal savings people voluntarily collected more than 400,000 rubles. On days off and in their free time they build tearooms, produce stands, and bread shops. Residents of the rayon built 39 projects for

themselves through their own efforts. This included 20 tearooms, which have become centers of propaganda work. Residents of the towns meet in them with farm and enterprise directors, honor leading workers, hold discussions and political information sessions, attend lectures, and review negative phenomena found in their local areas. One out of four of the tearooms has a movie hall. The same "khashar" method can be used to build simple facilities for performance of new rituals too.

A matter that demands the constant attention of party and soviet organs and the Komsomol and economic managers is removing religious rituals, which are the breeding ground for nationalistic views, from the everyday life of the working people.

Attempts to modernize are observed in the activity of practically all the religious societies registered in our region. The Islamic clergy, for example, has rejected the traditional idea that their religion is superior to others. Servants of the cult tell believers that Islam calls for friendship and mutual understanding among peoples. An effort to identify the religious with the national can be traced in sermons. This is aimed at preserving outdated religious customs and traditions. The activity of the so-called non-mosque mullahs is another negative factor in instilling inter-nationalism. In reality they are reinforcing outdated family-clan relations.

The sociological studies conducted at a number of industrial enterprises revealed some alarming facts. In Osh 37 percent of the Uzbek workers questioned were believers. More than half of them, and almost one-third of the Kirghiz in Frunze and Talas Oblast, celebrate the reactionary Islamic holidays of Ayt-Mayram and Uraza-Mayram. A significant number of the workers of the indigenous nationalities questioned were convinced that Islam has preserved national spiritual values. In certain rayons a revitalization of religious rituals is observed. The incomes of mosques there have increased by almost 10 percent in the last 4 years.

Among the Protestant sects operating in the republic 60-80 percent are citizens of German nationality. The greatest religious activity is observed in the city of Tokmak and in Issyk-Atinskiy, Kantskiy, and Leninpolskiy rayons. Many people explain their affiliation with the sects by a desire to interact with citizens of the same nationality and to preserve their language and traditions.

Incorrect actions by governmental agencies sometimes promote an unhealthy regeneration of national feelings. The Kantskiy Rayon ispolkom failed for a number of years to decide the question of building a prayer house for the society of Evangelical Baptists. Believers perceive this as an infringement on the rights of the Germans.

Our attention is also drawn to the activity of the unregistered Evangelical Christian Baptist Council of Churches in Chuyskiy, Issyk-Atinskiy, and Alamedinskiy rayons and in Tokmak. Their leaders organize meetings of believers in homes and invent slanderous lies

about the law on religious cults. Local governmental agencies are not devoting proper attention to indoctrination work among the followers of these sects. All they do is make occasional visits to prayer meetings and impose administrative penalties on the leaders of the religious societies.

Our atheistic propaganda continues to stress mass events, not painstaking individual work. They still make a great deal of commotion, but overlook the human being, his life, joys and concerns, hopes and disappointments, faith and mistrust. In short, they overlook the things that make up ordinary human life and, incidentally, the things that religion, unlike our atheists, does address.

Spiritual culture, where representatives of all nations and ethnic groups master and assimilate the cultural values of other peoples, has a large role in molding the inter-ethnic consciousness of the working people. One can conclude from sociological research material that these processes are developing quite broadly in the labor collectives of the republic. Almost half of the Russians and Kirghiz in Frunze, half of the Uzbeks in Osh, and one-third of the Germans in Talas Oblast read the artistic literature of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and know the works of Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian writers. But there are others who have no interest in literature, history, or art.

This is a significant gap in spiritual indoctrination. The cinema, television, painting, theaters, and libraries—all should be working to broaden people's outlook. The cultural potential we have accumulated is not being used well. The theaters play to half-empty houses, the museums have few visitors and the libraries few readers. Movies by Kirgizfilm cannot be seen in the cities of the republic for months. We need new forms and new approaches in spiritual indoctrination today and the Ministry of Culture, the trade unions and Komsomol, and all of us must look hard for them.

We believe that the practice of holding cultural exchanges between oblasts and republics needs to be enlarged to deepen inter-ethnic indoctrination. For example, the Kirghiz SSR Days held in Yaroslavl Oblast were interesting, and for our part we were very glad to receive the people from Yaroslavl. The Kirghiz Literature Days in Kazakhstan were very useful for the two republics. We should conduct 10-day art festivals regularly with the neighboring oblasts of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other republics. This will promote spiritual convergence of the peoples and mutual enrichment with cultural values.

All our creative intelligentsia should be actively involved in work on inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination of the working people. With their works they should awaken a feeling in people that they are all members of the family of the great unified community of Soviet peoples.

In the creative unions the party committees should create a healthy moral atmosphere and establish a spirit of high principles and mutual support. But as the last republic congress of artists showed, cliques, dissension, and a struggle for leadership are observed among figures in the visual arts. This has a negative influence on the creative process. Experienced artists, communists, and Komsomol members who were unable to put out the artificially blown-up conflicts promptly and unite the artists of different generations behind one cause and common interests did not do well there.

Comrades! An important factor in establishing inter-ethnicism is creating a language environment in the labor collective that makes it possible to form and simplify personal, purely human as well as work contacts. As the studies showed, people of different nationalities communicate at work in their native language or in Russian. There are no restrictions here. This reflects the general language situation in the republic.

At the present time teaching in our general educational schools is done in six languages, radio broadcasts are conducted in five languages, newspapers are printed in four, and dozens of ethnic artistic ensembles of USSR peoples have been formed.

During the years of Soviet power the Leninist principle of bilingualism has become established in the republic, and the Kirghiz language has been an effective instrument for learning about national culture. It is widely used in all spheres of life—public education, publishing, the press, radio and television, the cinema and cultural institutions, legal proceedings, and the activity of state and party organs. The number of schools with teaching in Kirghiz is increasing: there were 944 of them in 1980 and there are 977 today.

All this refutes the demagogic lies that bourgeois propaganda sometimes spreads to the effect that the younger generation cannot enjoy all the wealth of Kirghiz culture and assimilate the spiritual treasures of their people. This is also refuted by sociological studies. Of the young Kirghiz questioned 92 percent stated that they read artistic literature in their native language.

V.I. Lenin noted that we must open as many schools as are needed. But he always opposed those who wanted to separate school affairs by nationality. "The interests of the working class, like the interests of political freedom in general," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "demand, on the contrary, the fullest possible equality of all nationalities of the given state without exception and elimination of any barriers between nations, bringing the children of different nations together in unified schools, and so on." And he emphasized, continuing, "If the economy has united the nations living in a single state, an attempt to separate them once and for all in the 'cultural' sphere, especially in school, is absurd and reactionary."



Of course we do not deny that there are difficulties and shortcomings in the study and teaching of the Kirghiz language. For example, we cannot consider it normal that 42 percent of the school-age Kirghiz children in Frunze are not studying their native language and really only know it on an everyday conversational level. At the same time, the teaching of Kirghiz in the school is not on the proper level.

We do not see vigorous efforts by the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Ministry of Education, and the large group of qualified specialists in the field of Kirghiz philology to develop the latest methods of intensive study of the native language and to develop self-teachers, conversational guides, dictionaries, and the like. No unified program has been formulated for mastering the Kirghiz language for persons of non-indigenous nationalities who have expressed a desire to study it in the general schools, vocational-technical schools, or higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

We must move from words to deeds. The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must take concrete steps to improve teaching of the native language to the Kirghiz population. The experience of the Kazakhs deserves attention; they set up classes and study circles on a voluntary basis for management and administrative personnel who want to study the Kazakh language. Gosplan and the State Committee for Publishing Affairs must look for ways to publish a Russian-Kirghiz dictionary, a Kirghiz-Russian dictionary, a Russian-Kirghiz conversation guide, methodological aids, and other materials in the next 1-2 years.

Today, when the process of inter-ethnicization has penetrated all spheres of our life—production, social relations, education, culture, everyday life, and so on—we feel a pressing need to further expand bilingualism. This is the cementing principle that binds the members of one collective and different collectives. Fluency in two languages, the native language and Russian, is a condition for consistent growth in qualifications, steady updating of knowledge, and forming a worldview and political sophistication. All students as well as the adult population of the republic are studying Russian, which has been voluntarily and with enthusiasm adopted by Soviet people as the means of inter-ethnic communication. Representatives of non-Russian nationalities objectively call it their second native language. Fluency in Russian broadens access to the achievements of domestic and world culture, science, and technology. The Russian language promotes the inter-ethnicization of state and public life and a further strengthening of the friendship of the peoples, and the sociopolitical unity of society.

At the same time, many graduates of general educational and vocational schools and secondary specialized schools, especially in rural areas, do not know Russian well. As the sociological studies showed, 19 percent of the Kirghiz young people questioned answered that they

can only carry on simple conversation in Russian, while 4 percent of them and of young Uzbeks do not know Russian at all. In the countryside the percentage that do not know Russian well is almost 30 percent.

The level of preparation of Russian language and literature teachers for national schools remains low, and the need for them is not being fully met. Work to organize Russian language teaching for those who need it, including adult citizens for whom it is not the native language, has not been set up. Let us be blunt: the Central Committee and government of the republic are at fault for neglecting the publication of necessary aids, dictionaries, reference works, self-teaching books, and conversation guides, and there are very few methodological and other aids. We must put this business in order.

The demographic-linguistic situation in the republic is such that while it is vitally important for rural Kirghiz to thoroughly master Russian, for urban Kirghiz it is equally important to master the native language. There is understandable alarm for the fate of the native language in the urban environment; this has been expressed by certain scientific and cultural figures. But in some mass information media this trend is treated as an attempt to pit the Kirghiz language against Russian or other languages. For example, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA recently wrote, and I quote: "When advancing the theory of bilingualism, to speak just of Kirghiz and Russian while forgetting the other nations is disrespectful toward them. More than 100,000 Germans are living in the republic. There are many thousands of Dungans, Uigurs, and Koreans. What about them?" But we are talking about bilingualism of the native language and Russian, and this applies equally to Kirghizes, Dungans, Germans, and others. The newspaper disregarded the fact that there are schools in the republic where teaching is done in Uzbek, German, Tajik, and Dungan.

During preparations for the present conference the republic newspapers SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN and SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA ran a whole series of statements by scientific and cultural figures plus letters by readers in which important questions of improving the sophistication of inter-ethnic dealings were raised. Special attention was devoted to the problems of studying Kirghiz, Russian, and other national languages. Constructive suggestions, in our view, were made by Comrade Koychuyev, a worker at the At-Bashinskiy motor pool; Comrade Orusbayev, deputy director of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences; Comrade Imazov, head of the department of Dungan studies at the same institute; Comrade Yantsen, rector of the Institute of Russian Language and Literature; Comrade Kerimkulov, secretary of the party committee of the Kirgizmebel Association, and other comrades.

All the suggestions will be carefully studied and taken into account in the comprehensive integrated program now being developed to improve the study and teaching of Kirghiz, Russian, and other languages of the peoples of the USSR.

The pivotal principle is to intensify the policy of bilingualism, the one genuinely inter-ethnic policy. Practical steps are being laid out to eliminate shortcomings in the study of Kirghiz, Russian, and other languages and raise linguistic sophistication in the activity of local governmental organs and the mass information media.

Comrades! The restructuring, glasnost, and openness that are being established in Soviet society have aroused an enormous interest in history among the working people. It is not possible to instill in a person feelings of patriotism and inter-nationalism if he does not know the past of his own people, city, settlement, and village, if he does not honor the monuments of history and culture, and does not respect the veterans, those generations who gave so much to build socialism. In the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, "The nation that neglects its history is calling its own future into question."

Figures in literature and art, scientists, and journalists have a special responsibility in evaluating the historical past and national culture. It is precisely among them that there appears, now and then, a retreat from class evaluations of historical events and cultural values. Evidence of this is seen in the unfounded statements of certain literary figures about revising former evaluations of the creative work of such figures of the past as Moldo Kylych and Kasym Tynystanov.

Yes, we are for the restoration of history without gaps, and for disclosing the mistakes and excesses of the past, but not at the expense of diminishing our class, party positions, not with philosophical concessions.

Unnecessary excesses are often permitted in discussing the problems of culture and the cultural heritage. For example, why do we today wage ideological battles over the epic poem "Manas," a truly priceless masterpiece on a universal scale?

Society responds attentively, with heightened sensitivity to polemical debates, artistic and publicistic works, and the ideas contained in them. And we must do everything possible to see that they promote the ideological and moral consolidation of the people and moral and political solidarity of people in the name of successful restructuring.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of Kirghiz history in the Soviet epoch in molding Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The vivid instances of friendship and brotherhood among our peoples need to be used more actively in indoctrination work. This was convincingly discussed in statements in the republic press by Academician Altmyshbayev, Comrade Professor Narynbayev, veterans of war and labor comrades

Ismankulov, Omurzakov, and Sorokin, journalists Zhumagazyev and Rakhmankulov, and many readers. Ideological workers should listen to the voice of the community. It is also important to decide the question of more intensive study of the history of the republic as one of the branches of USSR history in the general schools and technikums.

Our social sciences are facing serious problems. They frequently depart from reality when studying the problems of nationality relations. We have no profound works on the broad set of problems of inter-ethnicization of labor and the way of life of our people. Can it really be normal that to this day we have no scientifically substantiated forecasts of formation of the working class from persons of the indigenous nationality and no precise assessment of the state of labor resources in the republic?

We must close the gap between social science and real life and direct all the social sciences toward practical work. Scientists should be more fully aware of their responsibility for the socioeconomic development of Kirgizstan and concentrate their attention on the problems of the theory and practice of restructuring, the dynamics of social-class and inter-ethnic relations, and the development of democracy and glasnost.

During preparation for the present scientific and practical conference, the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee commissioned sociological studies in a number of multi-nationality labor collectives in the republic with participation by scientists from the KiSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of USSR History. As already noted, there was a broad exchange of opinions in the republic press on questions of the development of national language-Russian bilingualism, the relationship to history, and other problems linked to intensifying inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination.

Our scientists, specialists, and party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers did a great deal of work in the local areas to study the state of affairs in key sectors of ideological activity. Their suggestions and remarks will be reflected in the practical recommendations that the conference will work out.

Our common task is to multiply our efforts in the cause of inter-ethnic and patriotic indoctrination of the working people, strengthening friendship among the Soviet peoples, and forming solid inter-ethnic convictions in people.

We must tirelessly follow the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU and on this basis strive to mobilize the working people to broaden and deepen the revolutionary restructuring of society.

We are confident that this conference will play a large role in this exceptionally important cause. Dear comrades, permit me to wish you success in the work of our conference.

**Kirghiz CP Resolution on Improving Party Membership Rules**

18300097a *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian* 12 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the 7th Plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee of 4 December 1987 'On the Work of Kirghiz Party Organizations Regarding Admissions to Party Membership and the Strengthening of the Party's Ranks in the Light of the Demands of the 27th CPSU Congress'"]

[Text] After hearing and discussing the republic Central Committee Bureau report "On the Work of Kirghiz Party Organizations Regarding Admissions to Party Membership and the Strengthening of the Party's Ranks in the Light of the Demands of the 27th CPSU Congress," which was delivered by Comrade G. N. Kiselev, second secretary of the Central Committee, the plenum noted that republic party organizations, guided by Leninist principles governing party membership, the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Tashkent Oblast Party Organization Pertaining to Admissions to Party Membership and the Strengthening of the Party Ranks," are working to improve the quality of the party's reinforcements.

The republic party organization has grown quantitatively and qualitatively and presently has approximately 150,000 communists in its ranks. Party organizations are growing primarily through the addition of the best representatives of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. In 1976, 49 percent of the candidates for party membership were workers; in 1986—56.9 percent. All this has made it possible to increase the share of workers in the republic party organization to 42.3 percent and the share of collective farmers to 19.8 percent.

There have been positive changes in the structure of party organizations and in the placement of communists. Almost three-fourths of the republic party organization are employed in material production. The party's influence has been strengthened in shops and brigades, on farms, where the fate of plans and socialist pledges is decided. In the course of the socialist competition for a worthy observance of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the republic's working people have increased the production of consumer goods and services. Plans of the current year and of two years of the five-year plan have been fulfilled for the sale of grain, milk, wool, eggs, vegetables, potatoes, and raw cotton to the state. Positive changes have been attained in the construction of housing and other socially significant projects. The volume of commissioning of fixed capital has been increased.

At the same time, the plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee notes that the serious shortcomings and problems indicated in work relating to admissions to party membership and the strengthening of the party's

ranks indicated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the Tashkent Oblast party organization are also characteristic of our republic. The underestimation of the political significance of this work has occasionally led to party organizations becoming littered with passive, random elements. In the last 2.5 years more than 2000 communists have been expelled or have left the ranks of the CPSU. There has been an increase in the number of candidates failing to survive the probationary period for candidate members. Some party members are not sufficiently aggressive and take a position of an outside observer of negative manifestations, and instances of bureaucratism and irresponsibility.

Specific manifestations of the underestimation by party committees and organizations of the deep essence of the effort to strengthen the party's cadres are the thoughtless forcing of their growth, the formal approach to the regulation of their composition, and the establishment of rigid control figures and targets. Admission [to party membership] is refused to virtually no one in the Uzgenskiy Rayon. In the Dzhety-Oguzskiy, Tyan-Shanskiy, and Tyupskiy Rayon, in the Osh City and a number of other party organizations, new members are selected without regard to the real need for party forces and the existing base for growth in various sectors of the national economy. In many cases, the quantitative growth of party organizations and the party stratum in work collectives is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the party's influence on the effectiveness of production and the education of people.

Party organizations in the Chuyskiy, Dzhangidzholskiy, Moskovskiy, Dzhungalskiy, and a number of other rayons are not fulfilling the demand that front-rank, seasoned workers be admitted to the party on a priority basis. Party organizations in the Sokulukskiy Rayon and the town of Przhevalsk have a penchant for admitting immature young workers who have not been toughened through practical work experience. Some party organizations admit to party membership an unjustifiably large number of workers in the nonbasic occupations. As a result of this approach, the worker stratum in party organizations is increasing negligibly. While workers comprise over 60 percent of Kirghizia's employed population, they constitute less than one-third of the republic party organization.

The majority of the collective farmers admitted to the party in the Dzhety-Oguzskiy, Kalininskiy, Moskovskiy, Suzakskiy, and Sovetskiy rayons are specialists and not rank and file workmen. Instead of leading scientists, engineers, physicians, educators, and cultural figures people who play a secondary role in their spheres of activity are occasionally admitted to the party. Occasionally, the admission of white-collar employees to the party



is coupled with their subsequent promotion to executive positions, which is detrimental to work with cadres and fosters careerism.

When screening candidates for the CPSU, many party organizations do not sufficiently consider the ethnic structure of work collectives, the population of cities and rayons and do not devote sufficient attention to admitting leading representatives of all nationalities to their ranks. A number of cities and rayons admit fewer Uzbeks, Germans, Dzungars, and a number of other nationalities to the party than they should. Nor is the ethnic composition of managerial cadres optimal in many oblasts, cities and rayons.

The problem of increasing the stratum of representatives of the indigenous and a number of other nationalities in the composition of the working class in the leading sectors of industry is in need of more energetic solution. As yet, collective farmers and representatives of the intelligentsia comprise a large part of persons of the indigenous nationality joining the party.

Many party gorkoms and raykoms and their party commissions are not sufficiently raising the responsibility of members of the CPSU and Komsomol organs for the objectivity of their recommendation of persons for membership in the CPSU. Serious shortcomings have not yet been eliminated from the leadership of the Komsomol which is the fundamental base for replenishing the party's ranks. Complacency and indifference to production and social affairs reign in many Komsomol organizations. Amoral actions by Komsomol members are tolerated.

A number of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations have not yet formed a well-conceived system for working with candidate party members. Some young communists do not have permanent assignments and show a poor knowledge of party program documents, of questions pertaining to restructuring and acceleration.

Party committees are not taking the proper measures to raise the role and authority of primary party organizations. Rigid regulation and control figures frequently lead to the loss of independence and initiative. In many of them, the role of party meetings in screening party reinforcements has been downgraded. Under the conditions of democratization, it is especially intolerable that some managers are removed from the control of party organizations. Many work collectives have not created an atmosphere of high demandingness, an intolerance of bureaucratism, mismanagement, and laxity. Party organizations frequently underestimate the struggle to strengthen party discipline and do little to raise the role of party punishments, reports of communists before their comrades, and individual talks with them.

The question of strengthening the party ranks is still not described in sufficient depth and comprehensiveness in the pages of the press and in radio broadcasts and telecasts.

Shortcomings and omissions in the formation and strengthening of the party ranks weaken the leading role of party organizations in the socioeconomic development of the republic. In industry, there is practically no improvement in contract discipline, the necessary growth rates of labor productivity and improvement in product quality are not secured, the assimilation of the new economic mechanism is proceeding at a slow pace, and shortcomings in the agroindustrial and construction complexes and in the service sphere have not been eliminated.

The Plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee resolves that:

1. The Buro of the Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, and kraykoms shall raise the level of direction of all work relating to the formation of the party's reinforcements in the new stage of life and activity of the CPSU. Admission to party membership must be an effective means of ideological and organizational strengthening of party organizations and of strengthening their influence on the course of restructuring and acceleration, and the social and economic development of the republic.

Steady, purposeful work shall be carried out to ensure the preferential status of workers in the party, to see to it that the party is reinforced with the best representatives of the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, to educate young communists in strict accordance with the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress, with the demands of the party program and regulations, on the basis of Leninist principles governing membership in the CPSU. The effort will be made to see to it that the composition of party organizations will reflect the social, ethnic, and age and sex composition of the work collectives with due regard to the specifics and conditions of their activity, the tasks to be realized, and the prospects of development. The most important criterion of entering the party ranks today must be a person's attitude toward restructuring, glasnost, criticism, self-criticism, and democratization and his practical participation in the struggle for the modernization of all aspects of public life.

2. Party gorkoms and raykoms shall secure continuous improvement in the quality of the party's reinforcements and shall raise the responsibility of primary party organizations in this regard. Admission to the party will not be forced or rigidly regulated. In all stages of screening for party membership, there must be a strictly individual approach. The political, professional and moral qualities of prospective members must be studied deeply and comprehensively based on the opinion of a broad circle of communists and noncommunists. Primary attention must be devoted to the creation of a well prepared basis

for promotion. Accordingly, political work must be intensified among innovators, production front-rankers, women, and Komsomol members.

The role of party meetings in work pertaining to admissions to the CPSU will be raised. Applications for admission will first be discussed in party groups and shop party organizations. Work collectives will be notified beforehand concerning their best workers who desire to join the ranks of the CPSU. Attempts to link the admission of white-collar employees to the party with their future promotion to executive positions will be halted. Noncommunists will be more vigorously promoted to positions of leadership.

Decisive measures will be taken to improve the leadership of the Komsomol, to see to it that Komsomol members and young people play a vanguard role in the restructuring process; to instill them with special pride in the fact that the best of them join the ranks of the party at the time of a major breakthrough in the life of Soviet society.

While giving preference to admitting the best workers and collective farmers, especially seasoned workers and farmers, and among white-collar employees—to leading scientists and specialists, there must be an analytical, thoughtful approach to the growth and regulation of the party ranks. There must be optimal ethnicity in the party organization and the party's reinforcements.

The Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, Academy of Sciences, State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and State Committee for Labor and Social Problems must develop a program for training Kirghiz and a number of other nationalities living in the republic as worker cadres and for retaining them in leading branches of industry.

3. Party gorkoms and raykoms must be more demanding in their approach to the approval of the decisions of primary party organizations on admissions to the CPSU, to raising the responsibility of members of the CPSU and Komsomol organizations for the objectivity of recommendations of persons for party membership. In examining the personal cases of candidates, it is necessary to determine the party responsibility of the persons making the recommendations.

Party commissions under gorkoms and raykoms must make in-depth studies of work collectives' opinion of candidates for membership and verify the accuracy of documents pertaining to admission to party membership.

Each party organization must develop a precise system for working with candidate members of the CPSU, give young communists concrete assignments, assign mentors to them, teach them how to exercise their rights under the regulations and to perform obligations; must regularly hear reports by young party members at party

meetings and sittings of the party buro and party committees on their candidate period, and communications by sponsors on nominees for party membership.

4. The Buro of the Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations must improve organizational and political education work pertaining to the fulfillment of demands of the party program and regulations that party members have a pure and honest character, that they be instilled with deep communist convictions, high moral qualities, a sense of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, high party principles, and intolerance of shortcomings. Every communist must wage a resolute struggle against violations of party and state discipline and the norms of communist morality.

Party ranks must be decisively cleansed of unconscientious, passive elements. Certification, reports by communists and the affirmation of their personal records, and individual talks must be more widely practiced. Communists receiving punishment must expiate their guilt through conscientious labor and public work and must correct omissions and derelictions.

5. The Buro, Secretariat of the Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations—based on the strengthening of the party's ranks—will intensify the party's influence in the decisive sectors of economic and cultural construction, in securing the main components of perestroika—the democratization of public life and the economic reform.

Strict party control will be established over the formulation and implementation of specific measures for fulfilling the quotas of the 12th Five-Year Plan particularly with respect to the growth of labor productivity, the improvement of product quality, and the conversion of enterprises and organizations to state acceptance, full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-support with due regard to the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) which takes effect on 1 January 1988.

The responsibility of party organizations and economic cadres will be raised for strengthening contract discipline, for overcoming the lag of a number of enterprises in the machine building complex and construction organizations, for the fulfillment of the housing program, for meeting targets for consumer goods and services, and for improving the population's food supply. All communists in rural areas will be mobilized to secure the successful wintering and survival of livestock and to increase the production of livestock products while thriftily expending feed and other resources. Subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations and personal household plots of citizens will be developed more energetically.

6. Editorial staffs of republic and local party newspapers and journals and KiSSR Gosteleradio will improve the coverage of current problems in the theory and practice of party construction, particularly—party membership,

the experience and shortcomings of the work of party organizations in admitting and educating new members of the CPSU. A correspondence school for young communists will be organized in the pages of the journal *KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA*.

The Plenum of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee expresses its certainty that republic party committees and organizations will improve work relating to admissions to the party and the strengthening of the party's ranks in the spirit of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and will raise the role and combat readiness of all party links in the struggle for restructuring and acceleration, for the further democratization of public life, and for the successful implementation of the economic reform.

5013

### **Uzbek Officials Ousted from Party in Corruption Probe**

18300097b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Dec 87 p 3

[Article "Reduction for Position" by V. Artemenko, PRAVDA correspondent; the article first appeared in the 21 Dec [1987] edition of PRAVDA]

[Text]—Tashkent Literally within the space of one month, there have been events in Uzbekistan that have left very few people indifferent. At one session, the Buro of the republic CP Central Committee expelled six leaders from the CPSU for padding performance figures, falsification of reports, and deceiving the state. Soon thereafter, the buro of the Tashkent Obkom stripped the title of communist from another four leaders for the same offenses.

The commotion surrounding the expulsion of these people had not yet died down when the UzSSR CP Central Committee Buro once again examined the padding of performance figures at a regularly scheduled sitting. This time the discussion focused on deception of the state and the falsification of reports in the formulation of shipping plans in the UzSSR Ministry of Motor Transport. This sector has developed a vicious system for planning, accounting and statistics relating to the shipment of goods. It is the home of mismanagement, low productivity, low demandingness, and the lack of oversight and verification of implementation. State planning discipline was violated over a long period of time and the effectiveness of the work of transport declined. Plans began to be fulfilled at any price. Enterprises in the sector distorted statistics; the padding of performance figures assumed massive proportions. The state suffered heavy losses. For example, in the process of compiling the plan for 1987, the ministry submitted to republic Gosplan proposals with deliberately overstated freight shipping volumes that were not supported by contracts. These machinations pursued the fraudulent aim of obtaining additional resources illegally. And the resources were obtained many years in a row.

The government has for a long time known about the deliberate and prolonged deception of the state. Thus, people's controllers have repeatedly uncovered machinations in the ministry. But every time V. Khaydurov, chairman of the People's Control Commission of Uzbekistan, personally "applied the brakes" to the examination of the issues, pigeonholed irrefutable documents, and the sector's managers came through unscathed.

In the early part of 1986, A. Azimbekov, a new minister, took charge of the sector. He was aware of the untoward state of affairs in the department that was entrusted to him. But he did not take measures to correct the existing vicious practice, did not restructure the work of the ministry's links, did not organize an accurate statistical system, and did not halt the deception of the state. He simply stayed in the same rut and reconciled himself to the untoward state of affairs in the sector. The massive padding of performance figures here under the new leadership as well continued to infect the entire shipping process.

At the Central Committee Buro session, Minister A. Azimbekov was insincere, shifty and evasive. The Central Committee departments that prepared the question proved that the minister had deliberately and skillfully deceived the state. However, the Buro decided that "A. Azimbekov deserves to be expelled from the ranks of the party and from the post he currently occupies. In view of his brief tenure and lack of experience, he is issued a stern reprimand (which is entered in his dossier) for deception and falsification of reports in the process of drafting the shipping plan for 1987."

The Central Committee Buro would appear to have been too lenient with A. Azimbekov. How can he be considered inexperienced? He is a mechanical engineer by education. Immediately upon graduation from the VUZ, he went to work as chief engineer in the Syr-Darya Oblast Motor Transport Administration. He headed the administration for 8 years. He worked 3 years as chief of the industry-transport department of the party obkom and 9 years as an obkom secretary, incidentally in charge of transport. What more experience does he need? Azimbekov was in his element when he came to the ministry. He was able to analyze this system better than anyone else. And he analyzed it. He began continuing the deceitful course of the previous minister.

One more excuse for A. Azimbekov was that he had only worked [as minister] for 1.5 years. For the sake of comparison, I cite a fact from the preceding sitting of the Central Committee Buro. Z. Tadzhiev headed the 50 Years of the Uzbek SSR Sovkhoz in the Voroshilovskiy Rayon of Syr-Darya Oblast for only 1 year. But in this brief time, he was able to turn the farm's economy around. He was already considered one of the best managers. Nevertheless, the Central Committee Buro expelled him from the ranks of the CPSU and removed him from his post. For what reason? Because he concealed 54.4 tons of diesel fuel from the accounting



system. Possibly the Central Committee Buro acted correctly toward Tadzhiyev. But how does this square with the treatment accorded Azimbekov whose offenses were far more serious?

The comparisons can be continued. The Buro of the Tashkent Party Obkom was entirely justified in expelling R. Akhmadeyev, director of the Chirchikskiy Bus Park; I. Gaipnazarov, director of the Kalininskiy Auto Park; and E. Nazarov, director of the Akkurganskiy Bus and Taxi Park from the party. E. Nazarov "failed to note" an extra 87,000 passenger-kilometers in his report. But once again, if we compare the offenses of these managers with the deceptive activity of A. Azimbekov, we are once again confronted with the perplexing question: why did Aydyn Alibekovich get off so easy?

Leaders of the Ministry of Motor Transport were not the only ones who deliberately deceived the state over a long period of time. They had very influential helpers—especially in the republic Gosplan whose leaders adopted an irresponsible, superficial and formal attitude toward the formulation of the state plan for the development of the Ministry of Motor Transport. They knew that the economic state of the sector was worsening, that the volume of transportation was diminishing every year, that performance figures were being padded, that the vehicle performance indicators in the reports were unduly high, and that the per unit fuel expenditure norms were the lowest in the country. Gosplan supported the ministry's formal proposals on the 12th Five-Year Plan without carefully analyzing them.

In the republic Gosplan, Deputy Chairman A. Makhmudov was in charge of all shady transactions. At the Central Committee Buro session, he also did not feel that he was guilty. He was unrepentant. Nevertheless, he was not removed from his post. Here is the innocuous pronouncement he carried away from the session of the Buro: "For a formal-bureaucratic attitude toward the performance of his official duties, which resulted in the deception of the state in the formulation of the plans of the Ministry of Motor Transport, a stern reprimand is issued to A. Makhmudov, member of the CPSU, and is entered in his personal dossier." Does such an appraisal not sound strange in such a situation?

And finally a word about the main protectors of the swindlers from the Ministry of Motor Transport. In 1985-86, the republic's control organs repeatedly informed G. Kadyrov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; G. Zakhritdinov, his deputy; and Sh. Nizyabekov, chief, Department of Transport and Communications, Council of Ministers, about various kinds of violations and the state of affairs in the ministry. They also made specific proposals. Thus the republic State Committee for Statistics proposed a sweeping check on the accuracy of statistics at Ministry of Motor Transport enterprises, the determination of the actual padding of performance figures, and the development of measures to eliminate them. Thereafter on two occasions the State

Committee for Statistics proposed specific measures to halt the deception. But the proposals were carried out halfheartedly. The Council of Ministers did not carry out the proper organizational work and lacked the courage to punish motor transport officials. Then, the Central Committee Buro had to take matters in hand.

It turned out that persons responsible for this sector in the republic Gosplan and Council of Ministers did not ascertain the real state of affairs in good time and did not organize careful checks of all enterprises, that might have helped to determine the actual volume of shipping. Worse yet, when it was proposed to all-union agencies that the five-year plan be revised, responsible persons in republic government deliberately retreated from the real situation, kept silent about the padding of performance figures, and did their utmost to retain the allocated resources. In a word, G. Kadyrov and G. Zakhritdinov did not carry out the party's demand to combat the padding of performance figures and the falsification of reports. They were unprincipled in the performance of their official duties, supported departmental interests, and did not halt the incorrect activities of leaders of the Ministry of Motor Transport who were trying to solve the sector's problems through deception.

The Central Committee Buro also issued a stern reprimand to G. Zakhritdinov, which was entered in his personal dossier. And yet, all drafts of the plan went specifically through him. All instances of padding of performance figures were coordinated with him. He personally sanctioned them. He deliberately encouraged sector leaders to deceive the state. Why then not call things by their true names? No, in the given instance, the pronouncement was also too mild. The Central Committee Buro punished G. Zakhritdinov "for removing himself from the struggle against the falsification of reports."

You cannot say that he is new to the transport field. He is a graduate of a transport VUZ and has devoted his entire professional life to this sector. He is holder of the title "Distinguished Transport Worker of the UzSSR." He has worked in the republic Council of Ministers for more than 2 years. Before this, he headed the Department of Transport and Communications of the republic Communist Party for almost 7 years.

It was specifically during these years, when Gulyam Zakhritdinovich was working in the Central Committee, that the negative trends that are only now coming to the surface, developed in the Ministry of Motor Transport. Of course, G. Zakhritdinov knew about the disgraceful goings-on even then. He knew about them for many years, but he did not lift a finger to halt and eradicate them. No, to the contrary, he helped evil to flourish. Is it possible to refer to such a situation as "removing oneself from the struggle against the falsification of reports?" This is unquestionably a case of covering up and even actively encouraging the padding of performance figures.

The juggling of the plan and the falsification of reports by motor transport officials did not escape the notice of G. Kadyrov, chairman, UzSSR Council of Ministers. He knew of the disgraceful goings-on in the sector and deliberately "blinked" at the offenses. When Gayrat Khamidullayevich addressed the Buro session, he acknowledged his mistakes. As you listened to him, you expected him momentarily to say that he deserved to be punished. But G. Kadyrov could not bring himself to make such an admission. The Buro called his attention to the need for Council of Ministers and Gosplan officials to be more demanding and responsible for the quality performance of their official obligations.

I compare the two consecutive sessions of the Central Committee Buro that discussed the padding of performance figures and the falsification of reports. The first went quickly and without a hitch, as they saying goes. No particular pains were taken to hear the guilty out. Six persons were expelled from the party. I repeat, they were deservedly expelled. Such concrete, severe measures should have been taken long ago. But after all, the question of padding performance figures in the Ministry of Motor Transport was examined twice. The first time, all the guilty were attentively listened to, there were long debates, and finally the decision was made to postpone the discussion of the issue so as to verify and weigh everything carefully one more time. Once more, two departments of the Central Committee and the Party Control Commission under the Central Committee analyzed the tangled web of machinations of the Ministry of Motor Transport. This time, too, the appraisers offered even sterner assessments.

But at the second session as well, the Buro made a long and painstaking analysis of the situation. And that is as it should be: after all, it was deciding people's fates. But the striking thing was that the majority of the members of the Buro rebuked the leaders of the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and the Ministry of Motor Transport without any particular partiality and occasionally even looked for ways of justifying in some measure their unseemly acts. One had the feeling that this time the people facing the court of party conscience were leaders of the highest rank and that another—more lenient—approach to them was sought.

It should be noted in particular that in the last 3 years in Uzbekistan there has been a fierce, uncompromising struggle against negative phenomena. In recent years, hundreds of leaders have been replaced and many sectors have been strengthened with new, businesslike, and honest organizers. But this time, the members of the Buro "trembled." Not all of them possessed sufficiently high principles. Some of them were impressed by the 'sacredness' of the "high" officials.

We are not by any means talking about the "thirst for blood." The discussion centers on full party justice. After all, communists of different official ranks received different punishments for one and the same "sins"—padding performance figures and falsification of reports.

Republic communists were immediately struck by this different approach to the same offenses and by the different evaluation of these offenses. Many times I have seen people carrying clippings from republic newspapers explaining the decisions of the two sessions of the Buro. People have also brought these clippings to the PRAVDA correspondents' centers. We read them, compared them, and shrugged our shoulders.

By an irony of fate, PRAVDA VOSTOKA, the republic newspaper, published the decree of the Central Committee Buro on the Ministry of Motor Transport under the heading: "Not the Slightest Relaxation in the Struggle for Restructuring." The communists were bewildered: after all, this time members of the Buro had granted a reduction to officials of the republic Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and the Ministry of Motor Transport. Not a minor, but a major reduction. By what right? Those 10 persons who were expelled earlier and those who remained in the party and in their posts have equal obligations to the party and are equally responsible for deceiving the state. However the measure of demand-giveness proved to be different. It is difficult to understand such a thing during the time of restructuring. After all, the high sense of responsibility must be the norm that governs the behavior of every communist.

5013

#### **Tajik CC Buro Addresses Issue of 'Regionalism' in Rayon**

18300115 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed article: "At the Communist Party Central Committee of Tajikistan"]

[Text] It has been reported in the press that an unhealthy moral and psychological climate has existed for a long time in a number of labor collectives of Gissarskiy Rayon, one cause of which is manifestations of regionalism.

The party committee buro has not devoted the requisite attention to this and has not taken it into account in its work.

Work has not been done to reinforce contacts among the indigenous inhabitants and those resettled in the region from other places, to eliminate differences of opinion among them or to weaken their harmful influence on the relations between these groups. The internationalist and patriotic education of the population has been done poorly in the rayon overall.

A series of negative displays based on regionalism took place in the collective of Motor-Vehicle Enterprise No 14 [ATP-14] of the Ministry of Motor Transport in November of 1987.

Former enterprise chief T. Rashidov continually displayed arrogance and coarseness extending to insults in relations with employees, inattentiveness to the needs of people and frequent disregard for party and social organizations.

The party buro and the local trade-union committee were reconciled to this situation and displayed a lack of principle and cowardice.

Having signals of the unfavorable climate in the collective, neither the buro of the party rayon committee nor the ministry leadership took the essential steps.

The situation worsened during preparations of the enterprise for conversion to new tariff schedules and salaries starting 1 Jan 88. In this atmosphere the chief, wilfully and without the consent of the party and trade-union organizations or consulting with the collective, issued an order to dismiss a group of workers that evoked extreme dissatisfaction on their part.

Certain elements, playing on regionalist sentiments, made use of the situation to incite a conflict between the workers at the enterprise.

Rashidov was quickly relieved of his duties as chief at the request of a considerable portion of the collective, appearing at the rayon party committee. This decision evoked the dissatisfaction of some others, whose representatives began to instigate for the dismissal of other workers as a sign of protest, as a result of which 25 people were notified of their dismissal.

On December 14 a large group of rayon residents was received by the Tajikistan CP Central Committee with the demand to remove rayon party committee First Secretary Kh.I. Kasymov from his post on the grounds that the rayon committee buro was harming the interests of the indigenous residents of Gissar.

In this climate the rayon committee buro and Secretaries Kh.I. Kasymov and N.N. Pozdeyev became angry, acted uncertainly and were unable to take the course of events into their own hands. The party organization of the enterprise was quite unable to make itself felt.

The circumstance ascertained by the party raykom buro that not one of the members of the rayon party committee, rank-and-file communists or non-party active members, neither before nor during the course of the conflict, informed the rayon party committee or tried to avert its development should be deemed extraordinary.

This testifies to the fact that the rayon party committee buro did not have a mastery of the situation, and many activists demonstrated political immaturity.

No strict political evaluation of what had happened was given at the party meetings of the ATP-14 and the rayon party committee buro where the results of an investigation into what had transpired were discussed.

A decree adopted by the Tajikistan CP Central Committee Buro has condemned the conflicts between the groups of workers that occurred at the Gissar Motor-Vehicle Plant No 14, at the foundation of which were regionalist manifestations. They became possible, the decree stressed, as a result of the unsatisfactory formulation of political-education work in the labor collectives of the region, a lack of close ties of the rayon committee with the primary party organizations, and the passivity and political immaturity of members of the rayon party committee buro.

It was taken under advisement that by resolution of the Gissar Rayon Committee Buro, the active instigators of the conflict in the ATP-14 collective, Deputy Chief I. Asomov, trade-union committee Chairman A. Avgonov and Economic Planning Department Chief Dzhyrnayev, were expelled from the ranks of the CPSU and further received strict party reprimands.

The decree noted that the rayon party committee buro displayed indulgence in determining the measures of party responsibility of former ATP-14 chief T. Rashidov. The decree further stated that Gissarskiy Rayon Party Committee First Secretary Kh.I. Kasymov was reprimanded for the unprincipled nature of the party evaluation of the actions of former ATP-14 chief T. Rashidov, failure to ensure the proper monitoring of the moral and political climate in the labor collective of the rayon and inattentiveness to educational work. The same party reprimands were also made toward Minister of Motor-Vehicle Transport N.Kh. Yakubov—for irresponsibility in reviewing questions of shortcomings in the activity of ATP-14 management and the failure to take timely steps to reinforce discipline and order in the collective—and Gissarskiy Rayon Ispolkom Chairman R.D. Kayumov for an inattentive attitude toward the needs of the workers of the rayon who had appealed for help to the rayon ispolkom.

The Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee of the city of Dushanbe was charged with considering the question of bringing to party responsibility CPSU member M.Kh. Kholmirezoyev, manager of the production motor-vehicle trust of the Ministry of Motor-Vehicle Transport, beginning with the primary party organizations.

The Central Committee departments, oblast, city and rayon party committees, the decree emphasizes must have a profound knowledge of the climate in the labor collectives and populated areas and the timely adoption of measures of party influence where necessary.

The decree emphasizes the necessity of rendering more effective aid to the primary party organizations in arranging party organizational and ideological work and



the inclusion of managers in it, as well as making the strictest evaluation, right up to expulsion from the party and removal from management duties, of communists that display regionalism or favoritism. An attentive attitude on the part of managers of soviet, business and public organizations toward all appeals of the workers should be sought. Every instance of a formalistic attitude should be subject to strict party evaluation.

In conclusion the decree points out that special attention must be paid to the impermissibility of decisions by business managers that affect the interests of people without coordinating them with party and trade-union organizations and advising the labor collective.

12821

### **IZVESTIYA Criticizes Ashkhabad Oblast's Agricultural Work**

18300148 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by staff correspondent V. Kuleshov: "Define One's Place in Restructuring: Notes from the Ashkhabad Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] The tone of discussion following a regular break in the plenum's work was set by G. Shpak, first secretary of the Bezmein Party Gorkom:

"Our plenum today is unusual, but you listen to the speakers and your heart aches: if it is a first secretary of a raykom, then there is invariably self-flagellation; if it is an economic executive, then it is invariably an accounting of his own work. Let's rid ourselves of the past; let's start talking about what is preventing us from working better. There are plenty of questions."

One of them, the most pressing—the attitude toward the land, the fertile land that is responsive to care for it but has suddenly become relatively unproductive—was precisely and bluntly raised in the report by V. Chertishchev, first secretary of the party obkom.

"In the past two years," he noted, "average yields from Ashkhabad fields have been 15.8 quintals of cotton per hectare, 17.8 quintals of grain, and 30.3 quintals of corn. And that is on irrigated land that is capable of yielding twice to three times as much! Yields of vegetables, fruits and grapes remain extremely low in most rayons. It is not surprising that the supply of vegetables to the republic's capital, which is surrounded by a green belt of orchards, vegetable fields and vineyards, turned out to be worse by a factor of 1.5 this winter than it was a year ago, and the city is now even compelled to ship them in from other regions in the country. Only one-third of the meat and dairy products consumed by the oblast are of local production—the rest also has to be shipped in. How long can one live in a state of dependency?"

He asked K. Akhmedyarov, Hero of Socialist Labor and chairman of the 40 Let TuSSR Kolkhoz, about this.

"The potential to feed ourselves and provide for the country is considerable," he said. "Every year we obtain about 30,000 tons of vegetable and melon products. There are a good many brigades that produce downright record harvests. The [brigade] contract and a proprietary attitude toward the land help. But now answer me: Do we have many contract brigades in the oblast? Only one in every four. And in fruit growing and animal husbandry, you don't see any at all. We say there is no meat. Yet through competent management alone in sheep raising it is perfectly possible to provide consumers with inexpensive lamb—in abundance, at that."

It turns out that it is not the heat of the Kara Kum that is the main reason for the continual shortfalls. The lack of responsibility is more terrible than the hot dry wind: on the farmers' part, a lack of responsibility toward the fields; on the part of their partners in the agroindustrial complex, a lack of responsibility toward one another; on the part of the executives and specialists on the farms and in the rayon and oblast organizations, a lack of responsibility for the jobs entrusted to them. Many of them still have not determined their places in the restructuring of the oblast's economy and have not yet worked out new approaches to the problem of efficiently utilizing accumulated production potential. But this was discussed very little and very meagerly at the plenum.

One recalls the figures cited in the report: Over the past five years, more than 200 million rubles has been invested in the development of the oblast's agrarian sector, fixed assets have been increased by a factor of more than 1.5, and the amount of irrigated plowland has grown by 74,000 hectares. However, the increase in agricultural output over this time came to only 84.3 million rubles. Not a lot!

It is hard to change habits that have developed over years. What farmer does not know that crop rotation is the basis for the intelligent and knowledgeable operation of the branch. And that is especially true in irrigated farming. But one recalls years in which, in the pursuit of instant gain, those same crop rotation systems were cut down at the root, so to speak, and the alfalfa fields existed only on paper, and the livestock went hungry during the winter for a lack of sufficient feed. And the main thing is that the land deteriorated. After all, alfalfa is both feed for livestock and the best predecessor crop for cotton.

It is no longer even possible to count how many seminars, meetings and diverse conferences have been held on this topic by the obkom, the oblispolkom and the agroindustrial committee. One included a trip to the State Breeding Farm imeni Devyat Ashkhabadskikh Komissarov, where farmers obtain more than eight to 10 quintals of feed units per hectare. Yet the farms have failed to take action. The area planted to alfalfa in the

oblast continues to be smaller by a factor of nearly 1.5 than prescribed by good crop rotation methods, and in a number of rayons it is even worse. And so it turns out: neither feed nor cotton. Milk yields are low. And the amount of added weight on livestock being fattened is no higher than 350-400 grams per day. How is it possible in such a case not to rely on subsidies? How is it possible to avoid shipping in milk and meat from other oblasts, when the attitude toward the land, stressed Obkom First Secretary V. Chertishchev, continues to be one of disregard?

One cannot help recalling a conversation with N. Aheliov, leader of the third brigade on the State Breeding Farm imeni Devyat Ashkhabadskikh Komissarov: "The whole point lies in the peasant's conscience, in our attitude toward the land and water, a drop of which was always considered more precious than gold in the Kara Kum," said the brigade leader. "Yet many people in the oblast today pour out not just drops but thousands of cubic meters of water needlessly—because it is provided without charge. And so they irrigate the land and make the soil overly saline and swampy."

The old brigade leader is right: the land will not start producing well without a solicitous proprietor. But are there many such people in the oblast?

The expenditure mechanism that operates in the oblast's agriculture, it was said at the plenum, is the result of the fact that the buro does not focus its work on economic methods, the widespread introduction of progressive forms of the organization and payment of labor, and cost accounting. Outwardly, however, it seemed that work was proceeding: in the obkom buro in two years 11 decrees were adopted on matters pertaining to the development of cotton growing alone, and 130 others were adopted of which a substantial portion dealt with the responsibility of personnel. Lots of paper, no results.

"Usually it is because," said N. Baleshev, second secretary of the Ashkhabad Party Gorkom, "the obkom bureau is still very slow to translate general party principles into practical actions. The obkom and, especially, its branch departments still for the most part utilize command forms of leadership without any link with economic and social tasks."

The office, paper style of work and the blind copying and duplication of documents that have come "from above" are chronic issues for the Ashkhabad Oblast CPSU Committee. However, new approaches are not yet in evidence. Neither in the development of creative and independent work to introduce the aforementioned cost accounting, say, in agriculture, nor in the organization of the implementation of decisions that have been adopted.

For the failure to fulfill plans, say, for milk, meat, vegetables and cotton, it is not the obkom but the oblast and rayon agroindustrial committees and specific farms that should be held accountable first and foremost. And

they should be called to account financially, out of their own material well-being. That is the meaning of cost accounting and economic methods of management. And everyone is waiting for the obkom to help more quickly unbind the hands of enterprising economic management. So that the kolkhozes and sovkhoses will finally gain full independence and more rapidly introduce the aforementioned brigade contract, or the family or tenant contract. That is what it is permissible to hold the party obkom accountable for in the strictest possible fashion—it is responsible for the selection and training of personnel. But what sort of accountability can one speak of when the absence of supervision has prevailed? It was recalled at the plenum that more than 70 percent of the decrees on the most diverse matters in the obkom were "closed" over the past two years without any detailed checkups at the local level and without any thorough analysis of the situation.

Or take the following example, which was also cited at the plenum: The obkom buro has approved about 10 special-purpose programs for the development of the economy in the 12th Five-Year Plan period, assigning oversight over their implementation personally to secretaries of the obkom. Now it has turned out that these programs were adopted with extreme haste, not thoroughly worked out, and not balanced with material and labor resources. Of course, when matters fail in the principal areas, what begins in place of genuinely businesslike behavior is bustling about that creates the outward semblance of action.

"We always gladly await visitors from the obkom," said T. Guchgeldyyev, first secretary of the Serakhskiy Party Raykom. "We hope that they will come and make suggestions. After all, the rayon is a difficult one with many problems, especially in the social sphere. But no one but 'inspectors' comes to visit us. Officials of the oblast agroindustrial committee are especially fond of establishing 'order.'"

In the past two years alone, 128 inspectors from the oblast agroindustrial committee visited Serakhskiy Rayon. 188 visited Bakhardenskiy Rayon. However, in neither place has there been any improvement of matters in the critical production sectors, nor could there have been. For following the checkups the rayon agroindustrial committees and the farms have usually been flooded with paper rivers of orders and instructions of various sorts—pointing out, regulating and prohibiting. But tell me: will paper solve the problems?

Trivial and insignificant accomplishments in work cannot be taken into account, even though they are sometimes passed off as major successes. A great many questions have accumulated that have gone for years without being resolved. Participants in the plenum spoke about this and tried to convince others and themselves: the mere enumeration of problems and criticism alone are still not restructuring. It begins, first and foremost,

with specific changes in the work of every Communist. Are such changes apparent? By no means every participant in the plenum asked himself this question.

8756

### Mary Oblast Criticized

#### Plenum Participants Hit Work Style

18300143a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 Dec 87 p 1,2

[Article by I. Katruk, TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA correspondent in Mary Oblast: "Verification by Truth; The Mary Party Obkom Buro Reports". First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] This plenum of the party obkom, if we view it from the standpoint of the practice of years gone by, neither in form, nor in content, nor in the very preparation for it was like any of the preceding ones. There were 20 people speaking out in the discussions, and each of them spoke about some problem. They spoke about something not built, something not done, something not thought out. They spoke about the empty shelves in the food stores, about the poor quality of housing construction, about shortages in harvested centners of cotton and vegetables, and about serious errors in ideological work. And behind all this was the obkom, its leaders, and the buro.

The speech given by party obkom First Secretary Ch. Gedzhenov sounded self-critical. The search for steps from which new forward strides could be taken, the frank and even harsh evaluation of one's own errors and conceded positions determined the atmosphere of the plenum. The primary conclusion was that the buro and secretariat of the party oblast committee have not yet achieved significant results in perestroika.

Let us take industry, for example. It was not ready for the fulfillment of the intensive tasks of the five-year period, and the obkom was not able to really manage the reorganization in this vital sector of the economy. There has been no radical turn in the areas of increasing the effectiveness and the quality of products.

As of the new year, approximately 20 industrial enterprises are changing over to full cost accounting. Are they ready for this? The plenum said no. However, an unjustified complacency reigns in many party organizations. The sectorial obkom branch virtually does not deal with problems of party-political provision for changes in all management sectors or with the economic instruction not only of the management cadres, but also the workers. Here the ideological workers must say their weighty word. They must reorganize political and economic instruction. The economic managers are waiting for directives from above and showing little independence.

The dissipation of funds continues in the building complex, and the number of construction sites is increasing. Yet at the same time the funds for construction of schools, kindergartens, hospitals and social-cultural and domestic facilities are not being assimilated in full volume. An unfavorable situation has arisen at a number of the start-up facilities. There are many reasons for this. One of the primary ones, as noted at the plenum, is the weak leadership on the part of the obkom apparatus. Party obkom Second Secretary Yu.Ye. Leshchinskiy, who is in charge of these sectors, has not fully taken political methods of management into his arsenal. He often dissipates his energies on trifles, drowns in the everyday work flow, while the main, key questions drop out of his field of vision.

He does not respond to the tasks of accelerating the state of affairs in the agro-industrial complex. The oblast has huge land and economic production potential, as well as significant labor resources at its disposal. However, these capacities are being used extremely inadequately. In many kolkhozes the growth rate of wages significantly exceeds labor productivity and the production costs for agricultural and livestock-raising products is excessively high. Each hectare of arable land yields insufficient grain and 60 centners of vegetables. And, as a result, the shelves in the food and vegetable stores are empty, while the prices at the market are exorbitant.

All this is a result, but what is the cause? There are many causes, but a significant portion of them lies in the sphere of party leadership and management.

B. Amanov, chairman of the Murgabskiy rayispolkom, spoke of these miscalculations.

"The trade workers in our rayon have for many years in a row not fulfilled the plans for goods turnover," he announced from the podium. "There have been three raypo chairmen, and other responsible workers have also been replaced, yet no good has come of it. Obkom section chief N. N. Samoylyuk, who is in charge of trade questions, should come here. He could help us sort out the shortcomings and omissions and suggest a way for eliminating them. But that is out of the question! If anyone does come to the rayon, it is only to check on a routine application or to seek out negative factors on which there are some differences.

Let me present another example. As soon as the season begins for procurement of fodder for the public cattle herd, I as the rayispolkom chairman must personally inform O. Seyidov, the head of the agriculture and food industry section, every day about the work which has been performed. And woe is me if some figure does not correspond to the statistics! In this case, just hold on... It is time to put an end to such a practice.

The speakers shared their opinions, indicating that the style of the party obkom is primarily the style of operation of its secretaries and buro. A.D. Dodonov, first



secretary of the Turkmen-Kadin party raykom, noted specifically that the obkom leaders, when visiting the local sites, pay more attention to economic problems than to questions of the work of primary party organizations and party groups. But even in the resolution of economic management affairs, obkom First Secretary Ch. Gedzhenov and Secretary Yu. A. Arestov sometimes do not follow through in bringing these matters to their conclusion. Often they lose sight of control over the implementation of the adopted decisions.

"One of the most acute problems for our rayon is the shortage of arable land," said A. D. Dodonov. "How is this problem resolved? Generally—in words. Ch. Gedzhenov, Yu. A. Arestov, and oblast agroprom Chairman A. Kurbanov examined many variants of proposals. However, things went no farther than talk.

Many of the speakers noted that an unsystematic, administratively oppressive character may still be found in the work of the party apparatus and obkom buro. The sections often perform dispatch functions. An in-depth study of matters is replaced by a collection of various reports, information and summaries. This results in real paper shuffling. Having submerged themselves into the current economic management concerns, many obkom workers in fact have alienated themselves from work with people.

Continuing the idea of improving management methods, first secretaries of the Mary and Sakar-Chagin party raykoms A. Gayypov and N. Yalabov and director of the Bayram-Aliy Fat and Oil Combine P. Meredov noted that the work of the buro lacks a business-like and specific approach. The obkom leaders must meet more often with the rank-and-file workers. They must go to where the people live and work. It is necessary to reduce the number of various meetings and conferences, especially on economic questions. After all, the party committee is primarily an organ of political management.

The part of the speech which dealt with Soviet construction particularly attracted the attention of the plenum participants. Here buro member and oblispolkom Chairman L.V. Potapov had to listen to many critical comments regarding his contribution to the reorganization of the social sphere. E. Meredova, machine operator at the "Moskva" kolkhoz in Karakumskiy rayon, A. Tazayev, director of the "Saradzha" sovkhoz in Kushkinskiy rayon, and others who spoke noted the need for giving greater attention to questions of rural development. At present, there is still a significant lag in the rural lifestyle behind that of the urban. In rural areas there is a shortage of bath houses, consumer services enterprises, and cultural-educational institutions. Public health and roads are in a neglected state, and there are interruptions in the supply of electrical power.

Sharp criticism was directed at the obkom buro for its unsatisfactory work with people, from the management cadres down to the rank-and-file workers. For the sake of

objectivity we must say that new tendencies have appeared in cadre policy. There have been fewer cases of formalism and such infractions as promotion by nepotism and personal loyalties, and incidents of transferring managers who have undermined a cause from one leadership position to another. Democratism, glasnost, and evaluation by work qualities are beginning to replace them.

However, the new is slow to be introduced into the practical work of the party committee. The obkom agriculture and food industry section is performing personnel selection in an extremely unsatisfactory manner. At its initiative and recommendation, in July of last year the obkom buro approved A. Ovezov to the position of director of the "Zagotkhlopkoprom" Trust. He was soon brought to criminal responsibility.

The director of the Gayram-Aliyskiy Cotton Plant and a number of kolkhoz chairmen also worked in this manner for a short time after being supported by this section and ratified by the buro. That means we have not yet rid ourselves of standard approaches and outdated stereotypes.

The buro also underestimates its active membership—the obkom members. L. Udodova, who works as telegraph operator for long distance signalling and communications at the Mary station, directly stated: "I am regularly present at the plenums and listen to the speeches. That is the sum of my responsibilities as a member of the obkom. I am not assigned to do anything. Unfortunately, the buro has not been able to see that each obkom member lives the life of the oblast party organizations and its concerns, that he makes his own personal contribution to the solution of the persistent problems".

The plenum brought to light many negative phenomena and expressed serious pretensions against the methods of operation of the party obkom buro apparatus. However, the plenum clarified something else—the fact that the activity and exactingness of communists has increased. The expansion of the circle of those speaking out with criticism, and its more business-like character is also a positive occurrence. And, as a rule, the obkom buro members feel that such timely criticism is the best form of assistance. Now we must undertake as quickly and amicably as possible the elimination of the shortcomings and omissions about which the plenum participants spoke.

**SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Stresses Violations**  
*18300143b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Jan 88 p 1,2*

[Article by F. Mustafayev and L. Kononova, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondents: "The People are New, But the Style is the Same; Plenum of the Turkmen CP Mary Obkom Discusses Buro Report on Management of Reorganization"]

[Excerpts] On the eve of the plenum, we had an in-depth discussion with Chary Gedzhenovich Gedzhenov, first secretary of the Mary obkom of the Turkmen Communist Party. Chary Gedzhenovich came to head the oblast party organization in 1985. He had a difficult legacy to follow. The economy of the oblast was in an extremely neglected state. The development of the social sphere lagged significantly behind the average union level. The provision of housing in the oblast was 24 percent below the average indicators, schools—18 percent lower, and children's preschool institutions—more than 50 percent lower. For years the Leninist intra-party standards had been disregarded in Mary. Incidents of mark-ups, showmanship, bribery, and defrauding the state had become widespread.

Since 1985, 336 officials have been replaced, among them 127 party leaders. Among these were 20 party gorkom and raykom secretaries. The former obkom First Secretary A. Akgayev was excluded from the party.

Thus, most sectors of party work have been headed up by new people. The staff of the party obkom buro was almost completely renovated. It would seem that the members of the party oblast committee could reproach their buro for whatever reason, but certainly not for its adherence to old, conservative methods of management. No, we are not speaking of mark-ups and bribes. We hope that we have finished with those crimes forever within the party environment. Rather, we are addressing the methods of command-bureaucratic style, the unjustified practice of substituting soviet, economic management and public organizations. However, almost everyone who spoke at the plenum referred specifically to the predominance of just this style.

To a certain degree, the adherence to this style was already demonstrated by the very speech the obkom first secretary gave at the plenum. A large portion of the speech was built on the old traditions. It told of the tons of harvested cotton—here the oblast party organization has something to be proud of, as for the first time in many years the plan for cotton delivery to the state has been fulfilled, of the hectares of cultivated land, and of the square meters of housing which have been built. A definite positive shift in construction has been noted. And only in passing—without analysis or extensive comments—did the speech mention the role of the party organizations, the forms and methods of political management of economic activity and the sphere of ideology.

Methods of political leadership are often reduced to administrative cries and directive orders. The plenum speakers spoke of this in a heated and temperamental manner, and those were the definitions given by the members filling out the questionnaires distributed among the members of the oblast committee on the eve of the plenum.

But does this sum up the entire matter?

In our opinion, alas, no. As strange as it might seem, there is still a "demand" for such a directive style, a need for it. We became convinced of this as we listened to the plenum speakers. For example, Vekil-Bazar Raykom First Secretary T. Nurmuradov asked the obkom to build a bath house in his village. Lyudmila Udodova, telegraph operator at the long-distance signalling and communications service in the city of Mary, turned to the obkom with a request for aid in organizing a Komsomol work Sunday to clear the site of a store which had burned down. As it turns out, the rural Soviet ispolkoms and the Komsomol organizations do not have enough funds, influence and authority to resolve such questions.

We must give credit to the obkom. It does not consider such a position to be normal and is trying to "unload" itself. Thus, most of the letters received since the beginning of the year by the party organs from rural areas dealt with questions of land use. The obkom buro devoted one of its meetings to the discussion of the oblispolkom's work on control over the adherence to the Turkmen SSR Land Codex in the matter of allocating to citizens land plots which adjoin farmsteads. After this, the soviets took up the issues of land conflicts, and the flow of letters to the party organs decreased.

But, unfortunately, such examples are few. More often the party workers are eager to engage in economic management matters. The force of inertia of the old approaches is unusually great. As before, there is worship of papers and reports. A question which can be resolved with a single telephone call sometimes, even in spite of common sense, is not resolved by the telephone call, but necessarily demands the compilation of papers and the preparation of documents which no one needs.

At the same time, in areas where the organization of educational and propaganda work is needed, the raykoms by force of habit press the administrative buttons. It would seem to be clear to everyone: it is primarily the residents of a rayon who are to harvest the cotton in their rayon. But what has happened in the Turkmen-Kalinskiy, Karakumskiy, Vekil-Bazarskiy and Maryyskiy rayons? Most of the local residents worked on their own farmstead plots, while the cotton was harvested by city dwellers and school children. Do the party leaders stop to think how great the political price of their organizational helplessness is?

There was little concern in the party committee of the "Krasnyy Oktyabr" kolkhoz of Vekil-Bazarskiy rayon about the political consequences of its hasty decisions. In order to bring the economy out of breakdown, several brigades were organized here which operated on the basis of cost accounting. Considerable effort was expended to interest people and to involve them in a mechanism of economic interrelations which was unfamiliar to them. But when the brigades were organized and began working according to the principles proclaimed by farm's party committee, these latter principles were clearly forgotten, and the decision was made to

use the brigades and their equipment for filling economic gaps. As a result, out of 10 cost accounting brigades in the kolkhoz, only one was able to fulfill the plan. The idea of cost accounting was thus totally compromised.

The unwillingness to delve into the situation, the desire to achieve a quick, if ineffective, result—that is another factor in the adherence of the buro members to directive-pressure methods of work.

A favorable breeding ground for the growth of such methods was the atmosphere of absence of criticism and self-criticism and of the democratic discussion of the adopted decisions which had been forming for years within the oblast. The habit of not considering the opinion of the labor collectives is strong within the party oblast committee even to this day. Thus, in promoting the chief of the construction-installation train crew A. Mikheyev to the position of deputy chairman of the oblast committee for people's control, they did not consult the station's party committee. They decided at their own discretion to reinstate the kindergarten director in Iolotanskiy rayon, even though the resolution concerning her dismissal for amoral behavior was adopted at the general parents' meeting and supported by the party rayon committee.

The position of forced pressure is especially unacceptable in ideological work and in the sphere of spiritual life. Prohibitions and directive orders will not solve the problems of inter-national relations, religious customs, and the feudal-bai vestiges.

Recently the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee found the work of the Mary oblast party organization on improving the culture of inter-national relations to be unsatisfactory. It pointed out the notable inconsistencies in the conditions of cultural and social development of the individual labor collectives and population centers, with a predominance of residents of non-native nationality. It also noted the unequal representation of all the nations and peoples living in the oblast in many segments of the socio-political structure, as well as the weak consideration of interests of all population groups in work with the masses.

Can we say that today all these problems have been solved? Alas, no. The primary reason for this situation is the fact that scientific methods have not been developed for approaching the complex processes taking place in the sphere of spiritual life. The attempts to fit them under a single stereotype have not been eradicated. It is specifically for the absence of a search for new approaches in the practice of party management of the social sphere that O. Aydogdyev, obkom secretary on ideology, was criticized at the plenum.

Party workers must take the time to acquaint themselves in detail with the life of the low-level party organizations. They must rid themselves of excessive speechifying, said

the communists at the plenum. They also proposed bringing up for discussion at the 19th All-Union Conference such an important, in their opinion, question as the periodicity of party obkom and raykom plenums.

Of course, there must be as many meetings and conferences as matters require. But if we speak of the matter itself—of the work of the oblast party organization, then as the plenum showed, it still does not correspond to the demands of perestroika in many ways. And one of the reasons for the many shortcomings is the substitution of political methods of management for administrative ones, the application of forced pressure where democratic approaches and consultation with all the communists and with the people are needed.

12322

#### **Grossu Demands Improvement in Patriotic Upbringing of Youth**

18000190 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed report by ATEM correspondent: "The Komsomol—A School for Cultivating Internationalist Patriots"]

[Text] The tasks of Komsomol organizations in further strengthening the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the youth of the republic in light of the requirements of CPSU Central Committee decrees on Kazakhstan and the directives of the 20th VLSKM Congress were considered at the December 30 Plenum of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee in Kishinev. Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary I.I. Buzhenitsa gave a report on it.

Moldavian CP Central Committee First Secretary S.K. Grossu spoke at the plenum.

The Komsomol members and the youth of Moldavia are worthy heirs to the internationalist traditions of the older generation, as was noted in the report and in speeches of plenum participants. These qualities are formed in them by the entire institution of the Soviet order, a visible manifestation first and foremost of conscientious labor for the good of the Motherland, joint study and rest and active participation in social activity by the young men and women who are representatives of the seventy nationalities living in the republic. The contribution of the multinational youth labor collectives to resolving the program advanced by the party of accelerating the socio-economic development of the country is increasing, and 660 Komsomol youth collectives and over 11,000 young laborers have fulfilled the plan for the two years of the five-year plan ahead of schedule for the 70th anniversary of Great October. The movement to complete the plan for three years of the five-year plan by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the five-year plan overall by the 120th anniversary



of the birth of V.I. Lenin, is expanding. Socialist competition among Komsomol youth collectives of Moldavia and the youth of related enterprises in the union republics and countries in the socialist community is continuing to develop.

Komsomol committees are taking steps to improve the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of young men and women. A radical restructuring of Komsomol political and economic training and lecture propaganda is being implemented.

There are still many problems in this area, however, that have arisen as a consequence of errors and omissions in managing the processes of improving national relations. Such abnormal phenomena, deviating from the overall normal trend of developing socialism, as manifestations of regionalism, dependency and the dissemination of all sorts of rumors have unfortunately also not skirted the youth environment.

What are the reasons for the vitality of the nationalistic views and sentiments, alien to our way of life, that are manifested from time to time in some places? There are objective and definable contradictions between accelerating the processes of internationalization and growth in national self-awareness, stagnant phenomena that exist in our society and the efforts of Western propaganda. There also exist reasons conditioned by the level of work of Komsomol committees. In analyzing it, the participants in the plenum spoke of the inability of Komsomol leaders to evaluate properly the political significance of class, internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the younger generation and the acuity of the problems that have accumulated in that sphere. Testimony to this is the rare and superficial discussion of various aspects and tasks of such upbringing at the plenums and sessions of the Komsomol committee bureaus. Over the last 15 years, these issues have not been considered directly at plenums of the Moldavian Komsomol either.

Competence is inadequate and training is poor among many Komsomol workers in the theory and practice of Leninist nationality policy. There are as yet no theoretical summarizations or academic recommendations for the radical restructuring of internationalist and patriotic upbringing of young men and women or their class tempering. The Komsomol Central Committee has long failed to display initiative and persistence in organizing such research and has not instilled a sufficient taste for theory and academic developments among Komsomol workers.

One bottleneck in the system of forming internationalist qualities in the individual is the work with pupils and students in vocational and technical institutes. It must be decisively freed of the contrived forms, sensation and sluggishness that lead to a distinctive devaluation of the ideals and heroic traditions of our people. There are no

galleries of Pioneer-heroes in a good half of the schools in the republic, or of Komsomol heroes in the majority of schools. Many Lenin rooms and museums of military glory are closed.

There are also serious shortcomings and miscalculations in the work of Komsomol organizations at higher educational institutions. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau has deemed unsatisfactory the activity of primary organizations of Kishinev State University imeni V.I. Lenin and the Agricultural Institute imeni M.V. Frunze in formulating a high level of international intercourse among the student youth. Some Komsomol committees do not always proceed from a class evaluation of the historical past of the Moldavian people, poorly take into account the role and significance of the fraternal peoples of the USSR in implementing socio-economic transformations in our region during the period of Soviet power and do not repulse attempts to falsify the past of the Moldavian people.

The causes for the appearance of negative manifestations under contemporary conditions cannot be reduced unambiguously just to recidivism and the influence of bourgeois ideology, although this must necessarily be taken into account. The Komsomol should see its mission to overcome them in the sphere of national relations and to strengthen internationalist and patriotic upbringing first of all in the realm of economics, which is the material foundation of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Moldavia, as was stated at the plenum, supplies precision instruments and apparatus, fruits and vegetables and other products to the other republics. The country in turn completely satisfies our needs for coal, gas, petroleum products, rolled ferrous metal and mineral fertilizer. This process, however, is more profound. The maximum orientation of business potential toward participating in the nationwide division of labor has become an objective necessity for every republic. Even the largest republic cannot provide for a high rate of economic development using just its own intrinsic productive resources or make use of and incorporate modern scientific and technical achievements. The unification of efforts to resolve this or that common task has already become the customary form for all of the fraternal republics. They include in particular the assimilation of the natural wealth of Siberia, in which all of the peoples of the USSR have a vested interest.

Some young men and women, out of ignorance or under the influence of various hostile "voices," unfortunately have a perverse or incorrect depiction of the role and place of Moldavia in the unified national-economic complex of the country.

Youth make up a third of the industrial-production personnel of the republic. The fulfillment of plan targets thus largely depends on how effectively the work of the Central Committee, city and rayon committees and

Komsomol organizations is in cultivating responsibility for the results of one's own labor and a profound understanding of the necessity of putting common nationwide interests ahead of local ones among the young workers. Whence the most important demand made of Komsomol personnel—considerably strengthening attention toward this aspect of activity and striving for steady growth in labor productivity, the unconditional fulfillment of contract deliveries, the rational and thrifty utilization of raw materials and other material and power resources and high quality of product output. Komsomol committees must reinforce business contacts with labor collectives of allied industries from other republics and make broader use of such forms of work as the exchange of groups of youth with related enterprises, sponsorship of the quality of product output, the organization of start-to-finish production teams and competition on the workers'-relay principle.

But the issue is not economic results alone. The restructuring of the mechanism of economic operation should also work toward a convergence of the interests of the individual and the collective, become the basis for greater cohesion of the laborers of various nationalities and raise their socio-political activeness to a new qualitative level. As was noted at the plenum, the efficiency factor of the mass agitational and propaganda functions and political training conducted by the Komsomol must be raised considerably and the exaggeration of activeness must be rejected in decisive fashion for this purpose. The youth must report candidly on existing difficulties and show ways of surmounting them.

Many speeches emphasized that the most important mission of the Komsomol is the military and patriotic upbringing of the youth. There are many omissions in this work today. Only one in five school and vocational-technical students is involved in classes on technical or applied-military types of sport. One in three schools is lacking a complete set of the material and technical base for initial military training. The work of military sports camps for adolescents is poorly organized, and propaganda of the military professions is being inadequately conducted. The republic Komsomol and its leading organs must think well about how to make their functions cultivating the youth in a spirit of readiness to defend the Motherland more interesting and efficacious.

The actions of the All-Union March of Komsomol and Youth to places of revolutionary, military and labor glory of the CPSU and the Soviet people, the conduct of the watch at monuments and other mass functions should be imbued with new substance. Many of them are turning into parade events, are losing their inquiring nature and take the interests of youth into account poorly.

The ties of Komsomol organizations with military units, as well as with soldiers serving in the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, have recently been reinforced. Attention toward invalids and the families of

soldiers who have fallen in executing their internationalist duty has become stronger. But much remains to be done. It is essential to be concerned with perpetuating the memory of those who have perished in Afghanistan. Schools, Pioneer groups, detachments and museums could bear their names. The vital experience of the internationalist soldiers should be more actively utilized in the cause of educating the younger generation.

The participation of young men and women in restoring cultural monuments and fixing up monument areas connected with the revolution and military and labor glory could become a serious school for cultivating patriotism. It is unfortunately also still possible to encounter instances of a disrespectful attitude toward monuments to those who gave their lives on the battles of the Great Patriotic War and fell victim to the Hitlerite terror. In the village of Kopanka in Slobodzeyevskiy Rayon, a dance hall was built on the spot of the massacre of 1,600 Soviet citizens by the fascists. A memorial complex has been unable to be built for three years in the village of Sherpeny in Novoanenskiy Rayon, where 4,200 soldiers are buried in a common grave.

Work on the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the youth is exceptionally multifaceted in substance and form. It requires the most rapid possible surmounting of show, ostentation and glorification.

The plenum approved the plan of practical measures of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee to improve the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the youth.

12821

#### **Republic-level Officials Censured in Georgian Housing Probe**

18300161A [Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA on 16 February 1987 carries on page 2 a 2100-word account of widespread violation of housing regulations in the city of Tbilisi and the Georgian republic, including those committed by republic-level officials, as told to a GRUZINFORM bureau correspondent by S.V. Karkarashvili, chairman of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee People's Control Commission.

According to Karkarashvili, D.L. Kartvelishvili, the former chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and present chief of the Georgian Republic State Committee for Standards Administration, received permission to move into a new apartment in the city of Tbilisi in July 1986, but did not actually move in for at least 18 months. During this time, he had unauthorized renovations performed on the new apartment, failed to possess a valid residence permit, and incurred living costs which had to be borne by the new tenant in his previous apartment.

Karkarashvili also reveals that G.V. Naneishvili, chief of the Georgian DOSAAF Central Committee, was guilty of having illegal renovations done in his apartment and "did not fully realize his responsibility as a leader, and moreover occasionally adopted an aggressive stance in an attempt to protect himself from the unpleasantness resulting from his own actions."

The Central Committee buro reprimanded both officials and entered notations in their official party records regarding the incidents. The possibility has been raised of removing Kartvelishvili from his post as chief of the Georgian Republic State Committee for Standards Administration.

### **BSSR Sup Sov Concerned About Citizens Legal Rights**

18000249 [Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELO-RUSSIYA in Russian on 30 January carried on page 1 a 700-word report on a regular session of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet. It was noted that violations of labor, housing and civil rights continue in Beshenkovichskiy rayon, Vitebsk Oblast. Local Soviets of Peoples' Deputies and their ispolkoms were censured for allowing these and other legal shortcomings to persist.

The Soviets of Peoples' Deputies were also scored for unsatisfactory work in preventing juvenile delinquency, as well as failing to bring to account those who were responsible for facilitating drunkenness in minors.

"The Presidium mandated that the ispolkom of the rayon soviet (whose chairman is V.S. Kuznetsov) take immediate measures to shore up the role and responsibility of those soviet organs charged with responsibility for the state of socialist law and order and protecting the rights and legal interests of citizens..."

The attention of BSSR offices of public prosecutors, ministries of internal affairs and ministries of justice was drawn to shortcomings of their subordinate organs in the Beshenkovichskiy rayon. It was noted that law and order organs must strengthen their ties and increase their interaction with local soviets in order to see to it that soviet law is observed in all spheres of industrial and public life as well as to protect the rights and legal interests of citizens. It was noted that the Vitebsk Oblast ispolkom Soviet of Peoples Deputies must be monitored due to its poor control over the work of Beshenkovichskiy rayon soviet organs.



**Official Notes Needed Improvements in Kazakh Radio, TV Quality**

18300121a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 6 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by V. Krylov, deputy editor-in-chief of local television and broadcasting of the KaSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting: "Information in the Air and on the Screen"]

[Text] Not long ago, in one of the information releases of East Kazakhstan Oblast Radio, material by M. Dolgov was heard on the subject: "The Broadening of the Independence of the Farm Manager Who Has Made the Transition to Cost Accounting." The Pervorossiyskiy Sovkhoz, as the journalist reported, made 1.5 million rubles profit during the past year. How did they dispose of this money in the farm? Alas, not at all. . . . Having received considerable income, the sovkhoz began the year, as they say, with empty pockets, since a million rubles was withdrawn into the reserve fund of the Oblast Agroindustrial Committee. Thus, the financial and, consequently, the practical independence of the farm, as before, is limited.

The chief economist of the Pervorossiyskiy Sovkhoz, Ye. Baday, not without bitterness, ponders: "We had great difficulties, because at the beginning of the year there remained few funds in our current account. It was even necessary to take out short-term credits, which we have not done for a long time. The farm is considered profitable in the oblast, but it did not find it possible to build, as it is supposed to, roads, housing, and a Palace of Culture. Will they continue to take away our profits? I don't know."

An acute and pressing problem has been formulated. The managers of progressive farms do not want to accept the kind of situation in which their profits are used to patch up the gaps in the economy of the remaining sovkhozes, whose directors, being impelled by parasitical inclinations, do not do anything, having come to believe in their impunity no matter what the final result; the state, they say, will not let us perish.

Well then, says another reader, that's not all one can hear on the air these days. . . . Yes, but was such information frequently heard on local television and radio programs, let us say 3-5 years ago? There is no recollection. In the conditions of the absence of broad glasnost, the "machinations" of financial activity frequently remained a closed book. What is more, not every journalist had the courage "to threaten" the oblast agroindustrial committee "itself". Moreover, we are not talking about lengthy analytical broadcasts, but about information programs, whose destiny until recently consisted only of glorifying the victories of the corresponding regions.

Now it is not only in the all-union and republic, but also in the local television and radio information programs that attempts make themselves visibly felt to master new

forms of journalism, to try to overcome the cliches and stereotypes, how one can more fully take into consideration and realize the diversity of the interests of the television viewers and radio listeners.

During the past 2 years, the radio journalists of Ust-Kamenogorsk have succeeded in producing a lively, pointed, dynamic, and "polyphonic" information program. It is distinguished by the breadth of subject range, the topicality of contents, journalistic mastery, democracy, closeness to the problems worrying people, the depth of analysis of the situation in the oblast, effectiveness, richness of information, and, finally, genre diversity and laconically precise, but lively "colloquial" language.

Already the enumeration of the permanent headings of the information program itself is indicative of the aspiration of the journalists to tackle the most vital problems of the life of the oblast: "The Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress—In Action," "Intensification-90," "The Strategy of Acceleration," "Along the Path of Scientific-Technical Progress," "The Criterion—Quality," "Housing-91," "Platform of the Reporter," the journalistic statements and interviews on pressing subjects of restructuring: "Attention—Experience," "The Oblast Radio Makes for Control," "Answers to Your Questions," and others.

The editors conducted a radio observation on the subjects: "Family Links Take the Contract," "In Accordance with Intensive Technology," and "In Accordance with the Belok Program." It is remarkable that the journalists of Ust-Kamenogorsk know how to clothe even agricultural "routine business" in a form that attracts the attention of radio listeners. During the period of the basic agricultural campaigns, for example, the editors organize telephone exchanges with the managers of the rayon agroindustrial associations about the course of the work in the competing rayons. And even dry statistics, it turns out, can be presented in a lively and interesting manner. Here is an example of last year, but one which comes to mind on this account—the special issue of the information program "A Hundred Days of the Five-Year Plan." Speakers in it included the head of the oblast statistical administration and the managers of a number of enterprises; the summing up was done by the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom. They made such a profound and interesting analysis of the work of industry that "bare statistics" have suddenly acquired the features of genuine social and political journalism. The issue was distinguished by effectiveness and by the speculative formulation of problems.

One can see a serious change in the illumination of social problems, the service sphere, and the production of consumer goods. Now it is not the interest of the producer which is regarded as of paramount importance here, but the interest of the consumer, who, as is well known, is always right. Precisely from these positions, the editors carried out the observation for the solution of

the problems of the quality of footwear being produced in the Ust-Kamenogorsk Association for the Repair and Sewing of Footwear, the work of the summer Green Market. The series of information reports on the construction of housing and cultural and communal facilities under their own direction and through the method of construction by the people, on the construction of water mains in the settlement of Melzavod, the preparation of the municipal facilities and services of the city for the winter, the problems of the construction and maintenance of vegetable garden plots, dachas, and auxiliary economic enterprises, and on shortcomings in the provision of the population with meat were permeated with the concern for the man of work and his working conditions. Saturday supplements to the information program "Your Free Time" are devoted to questions of culture. The editors have carried out serious restructuring on the plane of the democratization of the ether for radio waves. In contrast to past years, the majority of information reports now are conveyed not through the reading of a radio announcer, but in the form of lively voices from the provinces.

The information program of Karaganda television is saturated with topical problems of the restructuring. Here the main attention is given to questions of the development of industry. The broad illumination of the problems of the introduction of the achievements of science and technology were also previously characteristic of the Karaganda television journalists. Today a new, non-ordinary aspect in the view of this subject has been found. We are talking first of all about the permanent heading "Engineering Descent." What is attractive about it? First of all, its event-oriented basis and profound economic analysis. In the enterprises of the oblast, a new form of participation of engineering-technical workers has become a solid part of practice in the struggle for technical progress and the exposure of unutilized production reserves, in the propagation of progressive production experience—the very "engineering descent" where on certain days special groups of engineers descend into the mines, come out into the shops, and carefully analyze the technological situation in this or that sector. Then the valuable experience and suggestions of the "descenders" are generalized and introduced in production. Reports on the first steps of state acceptance are appearing with increasing frequency. They are valuable by virtue of the fact that here little by little the experience of the new state service that has been gathered is shown.

Useful is the work of the editors in regard to the propagation of the valuable initiatives of the initiators of socialist competition, in particular of the initiative of the brigade of the Raspadskaya Mine of the Kemerovugol Association of V. Gvozdev, who, in cooperation with colleagues from Karaganda, has challenged the coalminers of the country to competition for the maximum use of reserves for the increase of labor productivity. The column "Karaganda-Pavlodar" regularly appears on the screen—on the course and the results of the competition of the two neighboring oblasts.

A rare release comes out without materials on social subjects (132 reports for half a year). But first place has been taken by the treatment of the program "Housing-91". It is given in a many-sided manner. Many information reports are built on letters of workers. The editors regularly conduct a competition of television viewers for the best news in the program.

Elements of useful experience of restructuring of the information programs are observed also in other oblast television and radio committees: The Tselinograd, Semipalatinsk, Taldy-Kurgan, Mangyshlak, and Pavlodarsk committees. Here they repudiate clichés, monotony of materials, sham reports and self-accounts in favor of pointed and problem-oriented discussion with people.

For all this, it must be said in all frankness that restructuring has by far not reached all the information programs of the oblast television and radio committees. Here and there they have limited themselves to only "a change of the signboard". The headings that have been introduced, as well as the texts themselves, abound with the new political terminology: "restructuring," "acceleration," "scientific-technical revolution," "human factor," "intensification," "social justice," etc., but the approaches to the subjects and the contents of the materials remain as before, which in the end can lead to the devaluation of the new concepts and to formalism in new wrapping.

Special mention must be made of economic information. Here the most important shortcomings perhaps are the showiness and ballyhoo around record indicators and the distortion of the real situation. This pertains to the Aktyubinsk, Kokchetav, Uralsk, Gurev, Kzyl-Orda, Chimkent, Kustanay, and other committees. The statistical summary here increasingly becomes both the main hero and the chief information occasion. In the programs of these committees, an average of 60-80 percent of the reports on questions of industry, construction and transportation is made up of statistical reports on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and obligations, the introduction of projects, the presentation of banners, etc., on animal husbandry—about the progress of the sale of production, on agriculture—about the progress of the various agricultural campaigns. Of course, such information, too, is necessary. We are not talking about this, but about the fact that the reports on current subjects are frequently of the same type, like twin-brothers, oversaturated with irrelevant figures and summaries.

Characteristic in this regard are the "Latest News" of Kustanay Oblast Radio. The journalists here are seemingly not at all interested in the questions "what" and "how", the most important thing for them is "how much." Hence all the shortcomings: A lack of the propagation of progressive experience, the novelty of information, the dismal monotony and uniformity.

The play with figures, moreover, is a thing that is far from harmless. In contrast to the summaries of the statistics organs, which give an objective picture of the state of affairs, journalistic information, as is well known, is selective, and this selectivity is capable of playing a vicious joke on the editors. Precisely this is what happened on Kustanay Radio. The aspiration to color the truth in every conceivable manner and the "record mania" led to a significant distortion of the actual state of affairs in the oblast. Yes, the Kustanay cattle breeders did, indeed, succeed in obtaining a high delivery weight for cattle. To judge by the indicators we studied in the information reports for January, on the average for the individual collectives, the editors "sold" every head at a weight of 530-540 kilograms. And during this time, the cattle-breeders of Borovskiy, Ubaganskiy and other rayons sold at a weight of 400-423 kilograms, and there were farms, where they hardly went past 350 kilograms. By April-May, even the oblast as a whole slipped to 448 kilograms, but on the radio the number of "five hundred pounders" continued to increase. In this spirit there were reports even of average increases per 24-hour period (800-1,222 grams). In the meantime, entire rayons (Fedorovskiy, Komsomolskiy and others) produced increases under 400 grams, and dozens of farms—from 27 to 166 grams. The same happened with the offspring of sheep, the milk yield, and the wool clipping. And for all of this—not a word of criticism addressed to those lagging behind. Thus the truth under the glib pen of the journalists was transformed into a half-truth. And the ordinary radio listener had the right to doubt: What is this, the plans are being overfulfilled everywhere, but there is little meat on the counters of the stores, watery milk. . . . And, then along with the figures of "fulfillment and overfulfillment", concrete progression should be shown, but there is none on the air.

The level of the information program of Uralsk Television "Priuralye" is low. The expenditures for planning, the lack of thought given to the structure, and the absence of a subject orientation of the information attract attention. The central problems of the restructuring of the agroindustry are not given attention. Here a great deal is translated information to the detriment of the original, as well as duplicate work.

In a number of committees, the news is overloaded with advertising, announcements, newspaper surveys, and other "duty" materials. On the average 70-80 percent of the information is read by the announcer; there are few lively voices, movie pictures, and even photo illustrations. Hence the poverty of the genre.

Now, after the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Plenums, the demonstration of the machine tools and machines behind which no person is visible, the propaganda of partial success in some link in the presence of the general backwardness of this or that sector or sphere—all this leads away from reality and is not conducive to the psychological restructuring of social consciousness in the spirit of the new requirements.

Today information must be regarded as a form of social and political journalism, as a means of the awakening of the civic activeness of people. Bearing in mind V. I. Lenin's precept, the organizers of information are called upon to conduct a search for "sprouts of the new" and to carry out a check of "how communist this new is." In a word, henceforth we must talk, above all, about the completeness and objectivity of radio and television information.

8970

**Tajik Radio Faulted in Service to Rural Audience**  
*18300121b Dushanbe KOMMUNIST*  
*TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 Dec 87 p 3*

[Article by T. Dzhurabayev, instructor of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Tajik CP Central Committee: "Toward the Tajik CP Central Committee Plenum. The Practice of Ideological Work. In Whose Hands Is the Microphone?"]

[Text] Glasnost', democratization, the elimination of zones off limits to criticism, and the intensification of the struggle against bureaucratism at all levels, have made the mass information and propaganda media more pointed, interesting and popular. This is also indicated by the increased stream of readers' letters to the editors and the increased circulation of a number of publications. But if things are somehow more simple with the newspapers—their popularity can be judged on the basis of the circulation—it is much more difficult with local radio broadcasts. You see, you don't break down radio broadcasts in terms of circulation, their quality is more frequently verified by listener responses. And it must be stated that not always does a radio broadcast that has been transmitted acquire interested listeners and call forth a public resonance. A great deal depends on in whose hands the microphone is found, on the mastery of the radio journalist.

. . . For only 15 minutes is the broadcast transmitted that has been prepared by the journalist from Khodzhenkiy Rayon, Abdusamad Mavlyanov, but even during such a short time he succeeds in communicating to the radio listeners quite a lot that is useful. The plans of his work have been rendered concrete to the utmost, in them the authors of statements have been determined ahead of time and the "geography" of the reporting has been taken into consideration. Speakers on Khodzhenkiy Radio include secretaries of the primary party organizations (for example, of a cotton cleaning plant, the Training and Production Combine No 4, Motor Transport Enterprise-33), responsible party officials, rank-and-file workers of the agroindustrial complex, jurists, physicians, and teachers. To a considerable degree, the active work of the radio journalist is promoted by attention on the part of the party raykom.



But here is the trouble, not all inhabitants of the rayon succeed in hearing the broadcast. Of 9,000 wired radio outlets, not all operate, there are also farms with which there is no communication at all, that is, a direct line has not been built. For many years in succession, A. Mavlyanov acknowledges, our radio broadcasts were heard only in the city of Gafurov. In recent times, true, telephone connections are used for broadcasts to farms. But, first of all, the sound quality suffers from this, and, secondly, who can guarantee that during these 15 minutes the telephone line is not needed to call an ambulance, the militia, or the fire brigade. . . .

Since 1971 the question of the establishment of a solid and permanent link of the radio relay centers of the farms with the rayon radio broadcasting has been raised at the party raykom buro, and every time the ispolkom and the rayon communications center have put off the solution of this problem. But you see, the rayon leaders could turn to the experience of the organization of radio broadcasting in the neighboring Uzbekistanskiy Rayon of Fergana Oblast, with which the people of Khodzhenkiy Rayon are competing.

The radio journalist Zulaykho Gaibnazarova is the only radio correspondent who does not complain about the shortage of equipment necessary for work. And not because she is supplied with everything in full. No, she has an ordinary everyday Romantika tape-recorder. Only, like many of her colleagues, she is tired of begging year after year without result for the necessary radio equipment.

Does that fact not compel one to become thoughtful? Look at the equipment of any group of "migrant" artists, playing for weddings in the villages, compare it with the antediluvian tape-recorders of the local radio journalists and convince yourself of the difference there is between them!

Can we today, considering the weak material-technical base of radio broadcasting and the poor communication in the provinces, talk about the satisfactory work of the postal and telecommunication workers of the republic? In Matchinskiy Rayon, the wired radio diffusion system, because of deficiencies and the dismantling of the radio line, does not work at all. In the kolkhozes imeni Lenin, imeni K. Marks, imeni Zhdanov, imeni Kalinin, and others, where more than 1,500 wired-radio outlets were installed, they are silent for over 10 years already. By the way, the situation in a number of other rayons is no better.

It follows, the effectiveness of radio propaganda depends not only on who is at the microphone, but frequently also on whether there is a microphone to begin with. How do they assess the situation that has taken shape in the Leninabad Party Obkom, in the special branch? This can be observed on the example of the attitude to the oblast committee for television and radio broadcasting.

The quarterly plan of the work of the committee was reviewed in the obkom and approved with only one remark of the secretary, T. Abdullayev. The headings and subjects remained as before. No one noted that the plan lacks concreteness, that the "geography" of the broadcasts is narrow, and that duplicate work from one and the same rayons and cities is permitted. There are pretensions as to the quality of the broadcasts that have already been aired, especially in the statements of lecturers and specialists. Sometimes they are oversaturated with figures and suffer from not being addressed to anyone in particular.

During this entire time, the editors did not prepare any speculative, pointedly critical material at all, which could have been discussed in the party obkom buro or examined in the departments. But on the other hand, one can name materials for which it was necessary to give refutations or to offer excuses to the radio listeners.

The problems of the oblast radio committee not being solved for years created an unhealthy situation in the collective and weakened the influence of the primary party organization. At account here are seven members of the CPSU, of them only three are staff members of the committee: The chairman, the book-keeper, and the editor of the Uzbek wording. The remaining ones are republic radio and television's own correspondents. Since 1972 only one associate has been accepted into the ranks of the party, and he left to study at the Higher Komsomol School.

The absence of the requisite party leadership on the part of the party obkom also had an effect on the certification of the chairman of the oblast committee for radio broadcasting. His knowledge was verified by the certification committee of the oblispolkom as equal with that of the chiefs of the other departments of the apparatus. The chairman of the committee, N. Sharipov, was certified "conditionally," with a recurring recertification after a year. The individual being certified could not answer elementary questions relating to his activity. It is surprising, why is it that the question of his conformity to the position occupied by him did not even arise? Probably they considered that one can manage radio broadcasting without possessing the necessary qualifications.

Is it worth it after this to be surprised at the abundance of shortcomings in the work of the oblast radio! It is sufficient to acquaint oneself with the contents of the plan and it becomes clear that the local radio journalists are not precisely inclined to share the concerns by which the republic lives. There is not even a hint in the broadcast of the role of the party committees in the transition to cost accounting, of the practical introduction of new methods of management, the transition to self-repayment, self-financing, etc., etc. But on the other

hand, the broadcast "Success—in the Activity of Everyone" is planned from the Sovkhoz imeni Novoi of Ganchinskiy Rayon, regardless of the fact that this farm is not shining with successes.

Incomprehensible are the rules of the broadcasts by subjects. Only 5 minutes are allotted to the latest news and to the broadcast "This Is How Our Fellow-Villagers Work" 10 minutes of valuable time are given. Or another example: Under the heading "The Five-Year Plan on the March," a broadcast on the safety of road traffic is being presented.

The work of the editors with letters of radio listeners and their contacts with provincial organs of power give rise to quite a lot of unfavorable criticism.

Analogous shortcomings exist in the activity of the rayon radio journalists. Not a single party raykom has made a special study of and has examined the problems of radio broadcasting in its buro. They have become used to explaining everything by poor connection and have gotten themselves out of trouble and responsibility. No one is thinking of the maximum use of the available possibilities and all wired radio outlets.

Unfortunately, its own progressive experience in radio broadcasting work is not being disseminated in the oblast. In particular, the style of work of the radio relay centers of the Kayrakkumskoye Carpet Association and the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Proletarskiy Rayon. The microphones in these labor collectives are frequently given to managers, veterans, specialists, guests and young people. As a rule, the broadcasts are effective, topical, and pointed. In them one finds criticism, consistency, and consideration of the many-sided interests of the listeners.

The managers of the enterprise and the kolkhoz consider the local radio as a real help in their work. The broadcasts are discussed, evaluated, and improved. Why is this not done at the rayon level? For example, in Ganchinskiy, Matchinskiy, and Ashtskiy rayons, where things with radio broadcasting are in pretty poor shape, where they have transformed radio into a simple means of communication, although it should be a propagandist, agitator and organizer! Who is interested in hearing news

on the radio that they have already read in the newspapers? The listeners are expecting serious reflections, intensiveness of thought, the clash of different approaches, and the demonstration of everything valuable that has already been accumulated through the practice of restructuring in the provinces.

It is inadmissible to depreciate the role of such a powerful means of propaganda as the radio. V.I. Lenin called it the newspaper without paper and distance, having pointed out the broad prospects of radio broadcasting in the propagation of party policy, the solution of ideological and educational tasks, and the fulfillment of the national economic plans. The party management of this important sector of ideological work must today correspond to the requirements of our time.

8970

### **Iranian, Afghan Turkmen Groups "Complicate" Anti-Islamic Propaganda**

18350409b [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENISTAN KOMMUNISTI in Turkmen No 11, Nov 1987 carries on pages 65-69 a 2200-word article by O. S. Rejebova, senior scientific worker at the Philosophy and Law Department of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "National Characteristics in Ideational-Educational Work" on problems of social mobilization in the TuSSR. She points out that Turkmen tend to be outside the mainstream of Soviet life; "this situation is proven by the fact that most Turkmen are not taking part in the migration process like others and that their level of knowledge of the language of inter-national communication is lower than that of other nations." Also, in contrast to the all-Union trend, the Turkmen rural population (53 percent) is increasing relative to the urban population. She claims that "the national contingent of the worker class, the primary disseminators of the internationalist spirit and morality, remains small in number." Another factor complicating the issue is equating Islam with nationality: "Bourgeois ideologists attempt to use [the Turkmen interest in their past heritage] as a disruptive factor, a factor alienating the Central Asian peoples from other fraternal peoples of the Union in order to reawaken pan-Islamic ideas among the peoples of Central Asia." She adds that "the situation is complicated by the fact that significant national groups of Turkmen and other Central Asian peoples live in Iran and Afganistan, where Islamic political activism has emerged especially clearly."

### Historical Accuracy Urged for New Uzbek Reference Works

18300126 Tashkent *KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA* in Russian No 11, Nov 87 pp 91-96

[Review by G. Trapeznikov, candidate of historical sciences: "Encyclopedias Should Fulfill Their Intentions More Completely"; first paragraph is *KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA* introduction]

[Text]Uzbekistan has accumulated almost 20 years of experience in publishing encyclopedias. However, this experience has not yet become the object of broad-based, open, and principled analysis. Furthermore, revised editions of many encyclopedias are now being prepared. In connection with this, by publishing the article below, which touches upon only certain aspects of the problem, the editors hope for active participation by readers on the pages of this journal on the merits and shortcomings of such popular publications as the multi-volume "Uzbekskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya," and the one-volume "Uzbekskaya SSR" and "Tashkent," so that they may be brought into line with the present-day level of this republic's spiritual development.

Revolutionary perestroika in Soviet society, the foundations of which were laid by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress, is aimed at making a sharp break with the inertia that has taken shape in our country for a number of objective and, above all, subjective reasons. A decisive struggle is now being waged against conservatism, social apathy, public indifference, political irresponsibility, mismanagement, protectionism, account padding, deceit, bribery, as well as departures from class criteria in evaluating social phenomena and historical individuals. As noted at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the extent to which vital problems and contradictions, social trends, and prospects were recognized depended, to a large degree, on the status and development of theoretical thought, on the existing atmosphere in the forefront of theory, where, unfortunately, there was no place for lively discussion on creative thought, while authoritarian evaluations and judgments became incontrovertible truths, subject only to commentaries. There occurred a peculiar kind of absolutization of the forms for organizing society which evolved in practice. The Leninist viewpoints on socialism were treated in an over-simplified manner, while lightweight ideas about communism, various kinds of oracular pronouncements and abstract judgements gained a certain currency. Such an attitude toward theory, it was emphasized at the Plenum, could not help but have a negative effect—and indeed it did have such an effect—on the social sciences and their role in society, which negatively influenced the solution of practical problems.

All this, naturally, also took place in Uzbekistan. Hence it is not by accident that the republic's party organization has recently been paying a great deal of attention to matters of improving ideological work and developing one of its components—the social sciences.

The Third Plenum (October 1986) of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, after engaging in a special discussion of the tasks confronting the communists with regard to further improving the effectiveness of ideological activity in light of the demands made by the 27th CPSU Congress, noted that the ugly phenomena which became widespread in this republic during the 1970's and 1980's were directly linked "with serious failures in ideological and political-education work as well.... During the last two decades in the social sciences, literature, art, and other spheres of spiritual life in this republic there has occurred an increasingly wide scope of idealizing the historical past, a departure from class viewpoints in evaluating certain historical events and individuals. On the one hand, this has disoriented the masses with regard to the subject of national pride, and—on the other hand—it has established an ideological platform for over-praising newly appearing 'little tsars and landlords' with party cards; it has also given rise to ideological wandering on the part of many staff members." The plenum seriously criticized a number of fundamental, scholarly works published in this republic, including even encyclopedic works, which have absorbed many of the shortcomings indicated above.

Publication of encyclopedias undoubtedly constitutes an important event in a nation's sociopolitical and cultural life, as well as an indicator of its spiritual level. Nowadays, therefore, when much of what was done in the past is being subjected to objective analysis, it would be feasible, in our opinion, to conduct a conversation not only about the merits but even more so about the serious shortcomings that one encounters now and then in using Uzbekistan's encyclopedic publications. Above all, it bears upon their elucidation of questions of religion and atheism, internationalism, and the activities of certain historical individuals.

It is well known that encyclopedias should facilitate the formation of a scientific-materialistic world outlook, patriotism, and internationalism among Soviet people. Nevertheless, as A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, noted in speaking at the April 1987 Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee, nowadays under Central Asia's conditions it is impossible not to also see "such a tendency as the interweaving of nationalistic views with religious ones." Unfortunately, the authors of the publications under review ("Uzbekskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya," in 14 Vols., Tashkent, Glavnaya redaktsiya UzSE, 1971-1980 (in Uzbek); "Uzbekskaya SSR," An Encyclopedia in One Volume, Tashkent, Glavnaya redaktsiya UzSE, 1981, 560 pages; "Tashkent," An Encyclopedia, Tashkent, Glavnaya redaktsiya UzSE, 1984, 416 pages) avoided paying attention to the problems of Islam's reanimation during the 1970's and 1980's. The articles included in these works do not create in the reader's mind a clear idea to the effect that Islam and its ideology comprise one thing, whereas a nation and its self-awareness constitute something entirely different. But, of course, it is precisely on this question that



an attempt has been made to place the emphasis by bourgeois falsifiers, who to this very day designate all the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan as "Muslims." As is known, in their fantastic conjectures, they rely on the slogans of the Pan-Turkists and the Pan-Islamists, against whom the party waged an open struggle as long ago as the 1920's.

A major omission is the dearth of materials on the history of religion and atheism in Central Asia. Nothing is mentioned about the freethinking of Omar Khayyam, who wrote directly that the "spirit of slavery is concealed in idol-worship and in the Kaaba," nor about the covert struggle against the dogmas of Islam by such great Central Asia thinkers and scientists as Beruni, Ibn Sina [Avicenna], Serakhshi, and others. The existing articles on this topic are not distinguished by a high scientific-theoretical level. Many of them simply set forth the facts and events without any precise class-type evaluation or explanation of their essence. Thus, it is difficult to obtain an answer to the question as to what was the principal point of Lenin's decree on separating church from state and school from church. It is merely retold in brief; nothing is said about the features of implementing its demands in Central Asia. The fact of the matter is that during the first few years of the Soviet regime this decree was applied here primarily with regard to the European population, inasmuch as at that time, in connection with the high level of religiosity among the indigenous inhabitants, conducting atheistic work in this territory seemed impossible. It was impossible to expect the ripening of class consciousness among peoples who, in certain places, were still at the stage of feudal-patriarchal development. It was taking precisely this into account that the party and the Soviet state made considerable concessions to the feelings of the Muslims. Speaking at the Eighth RCP(b) Congress, V.I. Lenin said the following in this regard: "Can we approach these peoples and say: 'We will remove your exploiters.'? We cannot do this because they are entirely subordinate to their mullahs. Here we must wait for the development of a given nation and for a differentiation between the proletariat and the bourgeois elements, which is inevitable." ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 38, pp 158-159).

In our opinion, this circumstance also sheds light, to a certain extent, on why even now among some Uzbeks, as well as other peoples professing Islam in the past, there is widespread identification of the religious with the national. The distortions of the 1970's and 1980's and the slackening of specific, atheistic work led to a situation whereby in the social psychology of quite a large circle of people, including non-believers, during our own times certain Islamic rituals and traditions are perceived and observed as national ones. Therefore, materials which speak about rituals and traditions must be constructed on precise, atheistic positions, and, unfortunately, this has not been done in the "Uzbecksakaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya." Thus, in the article on "Khatna" (Vol 12, p 295) (regarding the ritual of circumcision) mention is made of the existence of a similar tradition

among other peoples of the world. And it is asserted that among some of them, including Jews and Muslims, it assumed the form of a religious ritual. However, the authors pass over in silence the fact that circumcision is replete with religious meaning and has nothing in common with the national traditions of the Uzbek and other peoples of Central Asia. Presented from a similar viewpoint is "Khatna tuyi" (a wedding ritual having to do with circumcision) (op. cit., p 296); its religious nature in the past is mentioned, but nothing at all is said about the fact even in our own times it has not essentially changed and is practiced almost everywhere.

Sufficient explanation was not given to the word "Fotikha" (p 159). What we are talking about here is, essentially, the first sura of the Koran, constituting the basis of the prayer which Muslims utter on the most diverse occasions, and the reading of which is nothing else than an acknowledgement of human weakness, man's complete dependence on the will of Allah. But the authors do not pay attention to this. On the other hand, the article does contain the assertion that the pronunciation of the prayer—and of certain brief chapters from the Koran—is considered to be a form of expressing condolences to the family of someone who has died. As we see, this is no longer atheism but propaganda for the dogmas of Islam.

Written in the same vein are the articles on "Shakhid" (victim of a struggle for the faith or for a just cause; an innocent victim; Vol 13, p 15), "The Twelve Shiite Imams" (op. cit., p 555), and such articles on religious topics in Vol 14 as "Kibla"—the direction in which a Muslim turns his face during his five-times-daily prayer (p 61), "Kiyomat"—the judgement day (p 61), "Kurbanlik"—the offering of a sacrifice (p 248), "Kuron"—the Koran (p 263), "Khayit"—a religious holiday (p 355), and others. They devote more attention to the attributes of Islam than to a criticism of its nature. Moreover, such materials, included in an encyclopedia, should furnish a well-developed, scientific criticism of religious dogmas and show the actual religious situation in this republic.

Without any justification, the facts of the forced Islamization of Central Asia and Kazakhstan are passed over in silence. The reactionary role and fanaticism of certain members of the Muslim clergy are poorly shown. It should be said, by the way, that the term "Muslim clergy" is completely absent from these articles. Instead of it, use is made of the expression "rukhoniylar" (clergy). But it is based precisely on Uzbekistan's example that we could trace well the participation of certain Islamic spiritual mentors in the Basmachi Movement and in organizing the persecution against the people's progressive representatives, in particular, the murder of the revolutionary poet Khamza.

Serious complaints about the matter under consideration could also be made regarding the articles in the one-volume encyclopedia entitled "Uzbecksakay SSR," especially those which are devoted to the development of

a feudal society on the territory of present-day Uzbekistan. In fact, they fail to show the reactionary role played by Islam, which annihilated the pre-Islamic culture of the Central Asian peoples: their literature, scientific works, fine arts, etc. (see pp 85, 88). Not one of the encyclopedias under review contains a precise, evaluation based on class evaluation of the significant majority among the reactionary Muslim clergy, which actively collaborated with such Pan-Islamic, nationalistic organizations as "Shurai-Ulama" and "Shurai-Islamiya." Their participation in the Basmachi Movement is not shown, nor is it shown in the opposition to "Khudzhum"—the movement to emancipate women, even though hundreds of instances could have been cited whereby women were murdered at the direct instigation of the clergy.

The reader will seek in vain throughout all these books for specific measures taken by Uzbekistan's Communist Party against the feudal landlord attitude toward women and for other manifestations of religious vestiges. Even in the articles entitled "Religion," and "Customs and Rituals" (see "Uzbekskaya SSR," pp 454-458) he will not find any critical analysis of the vestiges of Islamic ideology extant in the daily life of present-day Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kara-Kalpaks, nor of the activities of the wandering mullahs in the so-called "holy" places and "mazars." Passed over in silence is the celebration by a certain part of the indigenous population of "Kurban-bayrami," "Uruga khayit," performance of the "nikokh" and "dzhanyaya" rituals, as well as the payment of "kalym."

Analogous shortcomings are also inherent in the encyclopedia entitled "Tashkent." Here the reader will find mention of the following historical landmarks: "Baland-mechet" (p 48), "Barakkhana medrese" (p 50), the "Kaffal Al Shashi Mausoleum" (p 160), "Khazret imam" (p 371), the "Khayrabad ishana Complex" (loc. cit.), "Charkhakim" (p 387), "Sheykhtaura Mausoleum" (p 399), and the "Yunuskhana Mausoleum" (p 410). But he will not find any sort of class, historical evaluations of those religious leaders to whom these monuments were dedicated. Instead of this, neutral formulations of the following type are proposed: "The Cult of the Sheikh" (Khamendi Takhura—G.T. raised to particular honor his scion Khodzha Akhrar—head of the clergy in the Timurid state... (p 399). In this connection, the reader is amazed by and regrets the lack of any sort of critical material about the latter—an extremely large landowner, leader of the Nakshbendiya Order, and a reactionary. After having begun his activity in Tashkent, he later moved to Samarkand, where he headed up the violent campaign of the religious reaction against the secular and urban culture, whose brilliant representatives were Ulugbek and—somewhat later—Alisher Navoi. There is a version extant that it was Khodzha Akhrar who ordered Ulugbek's observatory to be destroyed and Ulugbek himself beheaded.

Likewise encountered in this book is a frank idealization, a peculiar kind of admiration for religious leaders. Thus, on page 371 we read the following: "Khazretimam,

Khastimam (Khamza Steet). Architectural Complex. Buried in its foundation is Mukhammad Abu-Bakr Kaffal-Shashi, one of the educated people of his time." In point of fact, this sheikh, who lived in the 10th century, was the most zealous propagandist of the orthodox trend of Shafism—one of the schools of Sunni religious law.

In speaking about the historical landmarks of architecture connected with the names of religious leaders who lived in the past, the authors leave their readers in complete ignorance about the activities of the non-secular institutions now situated within some of them, including the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The article devoted to this question could also have demonstrated the invalidity of bourgeois inventions concerning the persecution of Muslim believers in the USSR and could have talked about the peacemaking activity of the latter—their participation in the struggle for social progress and equitable international relations.

In general, anti-historicism and the extra-class type evaluations of separate historical events and individuals constitute the essential shortcoming of the publications under review. Thus, one will not find in the "Uzbekskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya" precise, class characterizations of such historical figures as Shamil—the head of a feudal-theocratic imamate in Dagestan and Chechen during the 19th century, who fought against Russia under the slogans of a "gazavat" (see Vol 13, pp 94-95), Shakh-houkh—the son of Timur (op. cit., pp 105-106), and others. Certain Muslim theologians are extolled unjustifiably. For example, Khusayn Koshifi (see Vol 14, p 473) is characterized as the author of renowned prose and scientific works. The articles about Khaydar Mirza (see Vol 14, p 351) and the successor of Babur—Khumayun (see Vol 14, p 470) prove a far from objective appraisal. As to Babur himself, it is disputable, in our opinion, whether articles about him should even be published in the "Tashkent" encyclopedia since his activity was hardly connected at all either with this city or with the Tashkent Oasis. This article fails to provide a sufficiently complete Marxist characterization of Babur as a feudal ruler.

Similar shortcomings are to be seen most prominently in the one-volume encyclopedia entitled "Uzbekskaya SSR." The historical information contained therein is set forth in quite some detail. It provides a detailed analysis of the primitive communal and slave-owning systems; and it shows in a multi-faceted manner the struggle by the Central Asian peoples against the Achaemenid and Greco-Macedonian invasions, the emergence of feudal relations, and the conquest of this region by the Arabs, as a result of which Islam became established here (see pp 78-85). Serious objections, however, are evinced by the evaluation of Timur; the article on the latter omits information about his bloody campaigns against Khorezm, the Northern Caucasus, and other regions. And all

this was written after publication of the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On the Marxist-Leninist Training and Economic Education of Executive Personnel in the Tashkent City Party Organization" (1972), which leveled serious criticism with regard to this matter. Nor will the reader find any class evaluation of the Kokand khans' predatory policy toward the Kirghiz people.

A great deal of attention is paid in this book to Russia's annexation of Central Asia. The progressive consequences of this act are truthfully reflected; principal among them was the involvement of the indigenous working population in the revolutionary struggle being waged by Russia's peoples. Nevertheless, in elucidating the situation which evolved on the eve of and after the October Revolution, the authors have failed to show the reactionary essence of the activities carried out by most of the Muslim clergy and the clerical-nationalistic parties. Moreover, there is no information whatsoever about the deeds of Enver Pasha, an international adventurer, Pan-Turkist, and Pan-Islamist, who was the head of the Basmachi Movement. His bands annihilated hundreds of thousands of Armenians in Turkey, as well as Uzbek, Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz peasants in Central Asia.

In examining the development of the national economy in the Turkestan ASSR, particular attention is devoted to the issues of implementing the land-and-water reform. Quite a bit of space has been allotted to the cultural revolution, to the nation-state demarcation in Central Asia, and its significance for the self-determination of socialist nations, including the Uzbek SSR, Turkmen SSR, Tajik ASSR, and the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Oblast, which were still in their formative stages. The Russian people's fraternal aid, in general and especially in building socialism, is well shown.

Of great interest is the material regarding the Great Patriotic War. Facts are set forth in detail, demonstrating the role played by Uzbekistan, the self-sacrificing work performed by this republic's working people in the Red Army's rear areas. It was precisely during the war years that the republic's social structure essentially changed, and the composition of its working class consisted basically of persons belonging to the indigenous nationality groups.

However, in elucidating the postwar restoration of the national economy, the authors have failed to pay attention to such factors as the interconnection between industrial and agricultural production; they have not linked them with All-Union processes (see pp 120-124). Furthermore, this period is presented as an endless chain of successes in the socioeconomic and spiritual areas. And the material with regard to the ensuing period of the Uzbek SSR's development contains only praise (see pp 124-129). The book does not reflect this republic's place within the entire country's integrated, national economic

complex; virtually nothing is mentioned about the role played by international cooperation between the peoples of the USSR in Uzbekistan's economic development.

Implementation of the party's Leninist nationality policy under the conditions of improving socialism is shown poorly. Experience in developing our multi-national country has shown, however, that even after eliminating the antagonisms, inequality, and national mistrust we inherited from the past, the development of nations and nationality groups, as well as the relations between them, is confronted with an entire complex of problems specific to our society's current stage of progress. However, the authors have not elucidated these specific features. The level of this one-volume encyclopedia is substantially lowered by the lack of materials regarding members of other peoples who have settled in the Uzbek SSR, such as Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tajiks, Tatars, Koreans, Uighurs, and others.

The reader has a right to make serious complaints about the articles devoted to a history of the Uzbek Communist Party (see pp 132-145). In examining the contribution made by Turkmenistan's Bolsheviks to the victory of the socialist revolution, the establishment and consolidation of the Soviet regime in their region, the authors hardly reflect at all the precipitous activity of the party organizations in combatting bourgeois-nationalist and clerical parties, as well as the Basmachi Movement, Pan-Islamism, and Pan-Turkism. The reader will scarcely be able to figure out the essence of the activities performed by our republic's Communist Party regarding the implementation of the policy directed at ensuring de facto equal rights of all nations and nationality groups, or what aid the Russian people gave to Uzbekistan's working people during the 1920's and 1930's. Instead of specific facts on this matter, the book contains general phrases about the republic's industrial development, the appearance of new industrial enterprises here, etc. (see p 136). In this connection, the absence of information about such an important event in the Soviet people's life as the formation of the USSR is incomprehensible.

The one-volume encyclopedia does not show the role played by Uzbekistan's Communist Party in improving nationality relations at the present-day stage. No mention is made of the struggle against religious and everyday prejudices.

Considerable space in the encyclopedia has been allotted to the Soviet of People's Deputies, trade unions, and the Komsomol. However, it is difficult to find therein any kind of data about the work of these public organizations with regard to overcoming Islam's influence or about ideological-aesthetic education of the working people. In the article about Uzbekistan's Komsomol its activities with regard to the patriotic, internationalist, and atheistic indoctrination of the republic's young people is not reflected at all.



Let's return once more to the "Tashkent" encyclopedia, which was published in 1983 on the occasion of Tashkent's 2000th Anniversary and reissued in 1984 without any changes; it was supposed to occupy a worthy place within the series of "city" encyclopedias which have appeared by this time in other republics as well. The authors' collective did a great deal of work and created a compact opus reflecting many aspects of the Uzbek SSR capital's sociopolitical and cultural life. At the same time, the negative phenomena in our republic which were disclosed at the 27th CPSU Congress, the 21st Uzbek CP Congress, the 16th (June 1984) and succeeding plenums of the Central Committee, permit us to critically analyze the contents of the "Tashkent" encyclopedia.

The introduction to this edition sets forth in the most schematic form the principal milestones in the history of Tashkent, as one of the country's most ancient cities and now one of its most rapidly developing industrial, scientific, and cultural centers. Provided here, instead of a serious analysis of the principal historical events, is a cursory restatement of the facts connected with archaeological discoveries and architectural landmarks. At the same time the authors remain completely silent about the reactionary role played by the local feudal lords, khans, landlords, and Muslim clergymen who, along with the tsarist satraps, oppressed their own people. "Tsarism and the bourgeoisie pursued their own narrow, mercenary goals in Central Asia," the article states, "and to which the colonial-type policy implemented here by the tsarist administration corresponded; it strengthened the yoke and lack of rights of this extensive territory's indigenous population" (p 9). Thus, the extremely important Leninist viewpoint on the nature of the dual yoke which existed at that time in Central Asia is passed over in silence. This led to yet another major error, i.e., no answer is provided to the question as to just what the social sources of nationwide wrath were which allowed the colonial regime and the native exploiters here to be swept away in such an organized way during the period of the October Revolution.

As is known, the British and American intelligence services made considerable efforts to destroy the young Soviet regime in Turkestan. However, one would seek in vain in the encyclopedia facts revealing the hostile activities of these forces and their connection with the Basmachi Movement, as well as with the bourgeois-nationalistic and Pan-Islamic parties.

A substantial shortcoming is the lack of convincing data about fraternal aid from the Russian Federation in Tashkent's development during the first few years of the Soviet regime and the emergence of this city as a beacon of socialism in the East. These factors are likewise poorly reflected in the elucidation of cultural life. Thus, the book contains no information about the training of Uzbekistan's first few detachments of creative intelligentsia. Even in the articles on M. Ashrafi (p 44), S. Ishanturayeva (p 150), and Kh. Nasyrova (p 223) no space was found for any mention of the fact that they

were sent to Moscow for training in national workshops. It is, of course, precisely such facts which eloquently reveal the essence of the party's Leninist nationality policy, directed at evening out the levels of development for all the peoples of the USSR.

On the whole, questions of internationalism are very poorly reflected in the book. For example, the activity of the international brigades, formed in Tashkent and which vigorously participated in eliminating the counter-revolution has lacked attention by the authors. As is known, their ranks included Hungarian, Yugoslav, Czech, Chinese, Turkish, Iranian, Korean, and other internationalists. Nothing is said about the "Twenty-Five Thousanders," who came to Tashkent from other republics. The topic of "multi-national Tashkent" has remained undeveloped. Nor is there any information on this in the articles about the working class, the composition of the deputies to the city soviet, Heroes of Socialist Labor, scientists, and leaders in literature and art.

The materials on the topic of party history cannot satisfy readers. The following questions arise: what was the editorial collegium guided by in not including articles on K. Marx and F. Engels in the book? Why are there no articles on V.I. Lenin's letter "To the Communist Comrades of Turkmenistan," as well as about the Turkestan ASSR and the Communist Party of Turkestan? For some incomprehensible reasons the article entitled "The Central Asian Bureau of the VKP(b) Central Committee" is completely lacking in data on its personnel.

A multi-faceted demonstration not only of the particular services of outstanding party and state leaders and a number of historical individuals but also their life careers allow us to elucidate our history objectively; it is of great educational importance for the younger generation. In connection with this, it should be noted, in particular, that the "Tashkent" encyclopedia mentions only F. Khodzhaev's services (see p 379) and says nothing about the fact that in his time national-deviation errors were permitted to occur. In our opinion, this belittles the role played by the party in bringing up national staffs of communists who fought for the cause of Lenin, while overcoming their own temporary errors.

Similar shortcomings are also encountered with regard to many other matters of the social sciences. One would like to believe that the collective of the Main Editorial Office of the Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia with the active aid of the scholarly community will be able to restructure its work in the spirit of the times and will gratify its readers with new editions of the encyclopedias, free from such shortcomings.

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**Article Fuels False Rumors About Soviet Occupation Of Baltic**

18300104b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Major U. Khelme (Ret), Veteran of the USSR Armed Forces: "We Heard The Call: Where Rumors Come From And What Fuels Them"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Not too long ago, I was outside and happened to witness a conversation between two elderly gentlemen—probably war veterans. They were outraged by what they had heard about an article in an Estonian-language magazine; that is, that the Soviet Union had occupied Estonia as part of an agreement with Nazi Germany.

I have to admit, I was beside myself. What sort of magazine was this, and what was it getting at? And even though it was a private conversation, people were standing around listening, so I figured it would be alright to speak up. I found out they were referring to a magazine called AYA PULSS (PULSE OF THE TIME), and an article, which had been published in that year's issue 19, entitled "The International Situation in the Baltic Countries just before WWII." The article, written by Candidate of History Kheyno Arumyaev, discusses the place the Baltic countries occupied in Nazi Germany's aggressive plans.

Shortly after the magazine was published, the entire city started hearing rumors about the article's assertion that Germany and the USSR had agreed to divide the Baltic into "spheres of influence;" that is, occupied areas.

Well, since I happened to have a copy of the magazine with me, I began translating the article out loud on the spot: "The Baltic countries were an important part of Hitler's expansionist aims. Germany's rulers felt that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were all inseparable parts of the future Greater Germany. The only area where Berlin hesitated was in deciding when conditions would most favor annexation of the Baltic to Germany, and how such annexation would be effected. In the spring of 1939, Hitler proposed conquering Poland and annexing the Baltic countries simultaneously. On May 23, in a speech to the High Command, he stated that Poland must be attacked at "the first available opportunity." In discussing his short-term goals, Hitler said: "Danzig is not the issue. The issue is *lebensraum* and supply channels, as well as resolving the Baltic question."

Germany's 'Fall Weiss' plan to invade Poland contained the following instructions: "The treatment of the Baltic will depend wholly on Germany's military requirements. (The course of events may dictate our occupying the Baltic countries as far as the Kurland frontier and annexing them to the Reich.)"

Although my two respected opponents called the objectiveness of my translation into question when they realized their "perceptions" had been refuted, younger and more ardent members of the crowd began to overstate the events surrounding August 23, trying to prove in this way that they were right anyway.

This incident, unfortunately, was not a solitary one. The principal of one of Tallinn's high schools also asked for help with the AYA PULSS article. The request in this case was for a translation and explanation of what was going on. I reiterate: the article concerned Nazi Germany's plans to seize the Baltic countries and not, as the rumors maintain, the partition of the Baltic between rivals.

Here is what the article said about relations between the Baltic countries and Germany: "Because of differing circumstances in relations with the Baltic countries, a decision was made to use a strategy of 'peaceful aggression.'" On May 2, 1939, Doctor P. Kleist, a German foreign policy expert and one of von Ribbentrop's colleagues who helped plan the aggression against Poland and the Baltic, gave a reasonably precise description of the tactics Germany was employing against various countries to a journalist. He said that Poland would be destroyed by a lightning strike, while Romania would capitulate under German pressure, and continued: "We want to accomplish the same thing in the Baltic, but using different means. We will not be using force, pressure, or intimidation. For example, in Lithuania we will be conducting trade negotiations while assuming a posture of great loyalty and respect. In this way, we will secure the neutrality of the Baltic; that is, we will draw them away from the Soviet Union. In the event of war, their neutrality will be as important to us as the neutrality of Belgium and Holland. Later, when necessary, we will violate this neutrality. Then, thanks to the timely non-aggression pacts, the Baltic countries will be unable to negotiate with the USSR about immediate intervention." (I think the word 'assistance' is more appropriate than 'intervention' here.)

There is nothing surprising about what the article later says about the Soviet Union's interests in the Baltic countries. The Baltic countries were its closest neighbors. The Soviet Union was well aware of Germany's desire to occupy the Baltic region and turn the Baltic Sea into an "inner sea of the Reich." It is troubling, however, that some people interpret these interests as an effort to "partition the Baltic between Germany and the Soviet Union." Yet nothing of the kind ever took place, nor could it have taken place. So what actually did happen, and what was the article discussing?

"On 28 March 1939, A. Rey, the Estonian ambassador to the USSR, received an invitation to meet M. Litvinov, the people's commissar for foreign affairs.

Litvinov gave him a note from the government of the USSR."

The note expressed the government's concern about the possibility that the Baltic countries would be used as a German springboard to the Soviet border. The Soviet government's statement warned the Baltic countries that Estonia's and Latvia's far-reaching cooperation with Germany and the dictate of the latter were not acceptable to the Soviet Union."

The excerpts I have quoted make it clear that the article never even hinted that there was any kind of deal between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, much less about the boundaries of the "occupied zones."

What I suspect is that this campaign of rumor-mongering was planned in the same circles as the ones that instigated the notorious August 23 disturbance. And I also think that people who do not know enough about the history and culture of the people they live among take this kind of bait too easily. After all, Estonia is now home to many people who, for various reasons, are not of Estonian nationality, and it behooves them to refrain from being suspicious of, and thereby insulting, those among whom they live.

13189



### Call for Greater Activity in Atheist Propaganda Among Muslims

18300113a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
10 Jan 88 p 1

[Editorial: "The Noble Mission of Atheism"]

[Text] "Every day on the way to work and back I take a bus which passes two churchyards. Yet even after many years I have not ceased to be amazed that many passengers, including young people, as if on command lift up their hands and whisper a prayer. Seeing this, I begin to wonder if my fellow passengers are really true believers and how it is that modern youth has fallen under the influence of religion."

G. Akhtyamova, a resident of Khodzheyli, asked this question in her letter to PRAVDA VOSTOKA. The answer, or more precisely part of the answer, can be found in another letter sent to the editorial staff by M. Babadzhanov, a World War II and labor veteran, now a practicing physician in the Uzbek SSR. Here are some lines from his letter: "Many people explain weddings and funerals with mullahs attending, nationwide celebrations with pious objectives, and other religious rites which are performed by young people as being due to a desire not to offend old people or quarrel with close relations and parents. But just who, we may ask, are these 'touchy' old people? This year marks 70 years since the October Revolution. This means that the majority of elderly citizens studied in soviet schools, were young pioneers, and were members of the Komsomol. One would think that there would not be any believers among them." We have yet another specific question: from where do they get this and why have sociologists noted "some increase in religious belief" in our region in the last few years?

The answer is that atheist work in labor collectives and, very importantly, at home is not overly energetic to say the least; and where the atheists are weakening their position, the cultists are more active. Even this answer falls far short of settling the whole question. The reasons for religious belief and its sources go much deeper.

The supremacy of Islam and other religions in the socio-economic and spiritual life of our society has vanished irretrievably into the past and the church has been separated from the state. But the roots of religious belief, which have a centuries-old history, have penetrated deeply into ethnic, domestic and family traditions and the remnants of religious belief continue to make themselves felt in the private life, consciousness, and behavior of a certain segment of the people. In answering the question about the reasons for the "rise in religious belief", I must say in all frankness that the effects of the stagnant period, violations of Soviet laws and social equity, and a low cultural way of life, especially in the villages, which were exploited so deftly by the clergy, played a significant role here.

Complacency has led to an enlivening of all cultists, including imposters. T. Ruzmetov, a teacher at school number 30 in the Bostanlykskiy rayon, talked about this to the editorial staff. This social activist and atheist lecturer has felt for some time now a sort of alienation and watchfulness among his countrymen; that one gets an unhealthy opinion about himself and tries to limit his atheistic influence on young people. According to his alarming letter to the editorial staff, G. Umarov, an atheist propagandist from the Galabinskiy rayon, has had a similar experience. These cases are not unique. Party committees, soviets of peoples deputies, and the village intelligentsia must clearly capture the nuances of public opinion, discern the sources of other influences, and give timely, reliable support to public activists and the champions of communist morality.

According to the CPSU syllabus, "Increasing the labor and social activism of the people, enlightening them, and widely disseminating new soviet rites and customs are the most important components of atheist education." This statute points out to us the fact that we can impart an atheist direction through many educational measures.

Memorial Day, which is held yearly in the republic, has become one such traditional measure. Simultaneously in cities and settlements, people pay a tribute of profound respect to the older generation — to those who fought for Soviet rule, built factories and established kolkhozes, and those who, with weapons in hand, defended the homeland from fascism and restored the national economy which was destroyed by war. On Memorial Day, all the feelings of the people pour out in a single noble union — the feeling of a single family. It is difficult to overestimate its ideological and moral effect.

From time immemorial, all cultists have tenaciously guarded their rights to assemble. They accompany a man from his birth until his dying breath. Today, we can counter them with new rites and rituals which have a very pronounced atheistic character. In the Siabskiy rayon of Samarkand, for example, engagement announcement day and Soviet family day ceremonies have become popular. In the Tashkent Aviation Industry industrial association imeni Chkalov, Veterans Day leaves a profound mark in the memories of workers. At the industrial association "Tashkent Tractor Factory imeni the 50th Anniversary of the USSR" "shop days" during which the most active sections receive pupils from the schools under their patronage have become a tradition.

Perestroyka is provoking a turn-around in atheistic work. The research of the republic's social scientists, who are studying the level of religious belief among various age groups of the population in different regions and, on the basis of this research, who are developing recommendations for increasing the effectiveness of antireligious propaganda, merits our attention. In a number of the

republic's VUZes — for example, in the Tashkent gospe-dinstitut imeni Nizam, they have restructured the teaching of a course for students on the foundations of scientific atheism. Primary attention is focused on criticism of the general tenets of religion and on specific manifestations of religious belief in a given stage, in a specific place, and for a specific group of believers or for one who is led by them. In a word, the course is becoming more objective and more closely connected with real life. But this is only half of the issue. We must examine how the VUZ graduates who have poured into labor collectives use this knowledge and these convictions acquired during student days: whether they will carry on atheistic work or whether these "acquisitions" will become unused capital after they finish the VUZ.

We know in what high esteem and respect elders are held in the East and that their word is heeded. If atheists enlist the support of the elders in their undertakings, success in large part will be assured. It was well worth it, for example, in the makhall imeni A. Avlon in the Frunze rayon of Tashkent to enlist the help of the activist-elders in atheistic work since the effectiveness of the work rose immediately. It is precisely the elders and old party members who play a significant role here in the consolidation of new ceremonies and rituals. Grown wise with experience, they help young people to separate the "wheat from the chaff", so to speak, and to distinguish a tradition of the working people from a tradition which has acquired a religious tint. Following the directions of the 27th CPSU Congress, party and komsomol organizations must analyze, in essence, the state of the religious situation and develop constructive programs to increase the effectiveness of atheistic work. The key aims of this work must be the future steady development of the labor and domestic activity of the people, their enlightenment, and the widespread dissemination of Soviet ceremonies and customs under conditions of strict observance of constitutional guarantees of religious liberty. We also must not forget about the need for continuous opposition to foreign clerical propaganda. The press must do its part.

Atheistic work is aimed at freeing the creative forces of an individual which, in the believer, are now bound by religious prejudices. This is the most noble mission of atheism.

13254

#### **Lithuanian Church-State Cooperation Lauded**

##### **Church Leaders Meet with Supreme Soviet**

*18090002a Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 10 Feb 88 p 1*

[ELTA report: "Meeting at the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The traditional meeting with the leadership of the Lithuanian Catholic church was held on 9 February at the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reported on the successes of the republic's workers in the development of the economy, culture, the resolution of social problems, the further acceleration of the process of restructuring, and the intensification of democracy and glasnost.

The interrelationship between state and the church was also discussed at the meeting.

The church leadership was informed about the fact that foreign radio stations had issued an "appeal" calling for commemoration of the 16th of February in the churches. The leaders of the Catholic church said that the appeal was broadcast without their knowledge and without the knowledge of the parish priests. They also said that in February the services in the churches would be held as usual, according to the liturgical calendar, and that they believe that the church should not be used for political purposes.

The following took part in and spoke at the meeting with the leaders of the Catholic church: L. Sepetys, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; A. Cesnavicius, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; P. Anilionis, the Lithuanian SSR representative of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs.

#### **Readers Pleased With Church-State Cooperation, Openness on Afghanistan**

*18090002b Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 12 Feb 88 p 1*

[Article: "Readers Respond to the Announcement Published in TIESA on the Meeting at the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium With the Leadership of the Lithuanian Catholic Church"]

##### **[Text] A Mother's Voice**

I am raising a child, so at the moment I am not working. As far as time permits, I read the press, trying to keep up with the times, which lately are very interesting. Several times already I have noticed reports in TIESA about our republic leaders meeting with Lithuanian Catholic church priests and exchanging views about things which touch us all very deeply. Such cooperation makes me very happy.

I am 30 years old, I work as an accountant, and am a believer. My friends and colleagues know about this. Believers and non-believers are joining their efforts so that there would not be a new war, and together, are doing everything to eliminate the terrible problem of drunkenness, to teach morality.

At the same time I do not agree with those, be they believers or not, who attempt to provoke socialist people, to distort historical facts.

I am glad that there is more and more openness in our life. I feel particularly good about the announcement on Afghanistan by the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. Gorbachev, since we mothers raise our children to live and cannot sleep at night if the flames of war are being sparked.

There is still much that should be changed and improved in our socialist society. Restructuring is not a one day job. However, just as in a large, varied family, so in our socialist society, difficulties will be eliminated, because there is agreement.

[Signed: Loreta Kvetiene, Kaunas]

### Cooperation Is To Everyone's Benefit

It is gratifying to read in the press and to see on the television screen how various questions are discussed by our government officials and our religious servants. The 9 February meeting at the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with the leadership of the Lithuanian Catholic church is exactly the example of such cooperation. We should work and live in such a manner that our work would be useful for all society, for believers and for atheists.

Some emigres are slandering their former homeland. Most of them have not seen present-day Lithuania; they do not want to see our current successes. What are the various people who put out the "Chronicle", the religious extremists who live in Lithuania thinking? What are they trying to achieve? They forget that it is the good socialist people who grow the bread they eat. These slanderers try to hide behind the Lithuanian church. However, life shows that they do not have the support of either the believers, or the priests.

Believers distinguish between those priests who slander their country, and those who, like Monsignor C. Krivaitis, the pastor at Kernave who published an article in the journal KOMUNISTAS, call upon all to fight for peace.

The pastors who tell their believer-parishioners during workdays, let's pray for a shorter time today, because the weather is nice and we have to hurry to the fields to plow the soil, are admired by all.

Recently I read in our Sirvintai rayon newspaper, LENIN'S BANNER, that the rayon executive committee had a meeting with the priests of the rayon. During the frank, business-like meeting relations with the church were discussed. The Catholic church priests visited the Sirvintai kolkhoz house of culture, the medical dispensary and the hog raising complex. Such events and such cooperation are supported by believers and atheists, because this is useful for all of society.

[Signed: Gediminas Antanaitis, pensioner, Sirvintai]

### Rayon Newspaper Fights Religious Cults

18350413a [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 15 January 1988 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by G. Tachmyradov, methodologist at the Republic House of Scientific Atheism, headlined "Attention Is Being Given to Atheist Education" about efforts of the newspaper OKT-YABRYNG YOLY in Gazanjyk Rayon to intensify the struggle against Islam and other forms of religious cultism. It has introduced a special column, "Atheist Education at the Center of Attention," in which "special attention is given to the strong relationship between atheist education and ideo-political, labor, moral, legal and esthetic education. The editors, by implementing these measures, are also paying a great deal of attention to questions of perfecting control over compliance with the law on religious cults. Measures to expose the anti-social actions of faith healers are being broadly applied." He adds that "taking into consideration the ever more active use of religion against socialist countries by propaganda centers in capitalist states in the ideological struggle, the rayon is also conducting significant counterpropaganda."

### Iran Radio Pushes Pan-Islam in Krasnovodsk Rayon

18350413b [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY on 6 January 1988 carries on page 2 a 1400-word article by S. Guljanov, headlined "We Must Move Forward in Every Sector," on the problem of Islam in Krasnovodsk Rayon. Citing a number of recent cases in which "pseudomullahs" have been exposed, he points out that "in rural areas of the rayon there are those who listen regularly to Gurgen radio and believe its nonsense about pan-Islamic ideology. It is as if no lectures are being given to rural inhabitants about its harm. The rayon newspaper JUMYSSHY has not thought it relevant to provide material relative to this theme." According to a deputy of the rayon soviet, "ideological work has been forgotten. No lectures are being given on religion or harmful traditions. Gurgen radio is still broadcasting talks wrapped in nonsense and religion. We must strengthen counterpropaganda."

### Eminent Scholar Saidbayev Criticized As Being "Apologist for Islam"

18300168 [Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 2 February 1988 carries on page 4 a 1200-word interview by PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent A. Tankhelson with M.A. Usmanov, leading scientific researcher at the Uzbek Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Institute. In it, Usmanov criticizes T.S. Saidbayev, author of the book, "Islam and Society," for being an 'apologist for Islam.' Describing what he views as "tendencies to idealize religion," Usmanov asserts that in Saidbayev's book, published in 1984, "the Islamization of Central Asia is equated to 'a transfer of culture,' as if the Central Asian people needed



such ideology, ignoring the peoples' hundred-year struggle against Arab conquest and Islamization. In these matters, the author clearly adopts the position of an apologist for Islam."

**Collection of Old Believers' Books Donated to  
USSR Academy of Sciences**

18000250 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian on 26 February announced on page 3 that a collection of printed and handwritten Old Believers' books, purportedly hundreds of years old, have come into the possession of the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The books originally belonged to Vasiliy Ananovich Malygin, who at one time was the head of a small Old Believer community in Petropavlovsk. This community fell apart after Malygin's death and the priceless books were handed down to Malygin's son, a nonbeliever who recognized the value of the works. On the advice of scholars, he donated the collection to the Academy of Sciences. A. Maltsev, research assistant at the archeological commission, explained that the collection is in excellent condition, including a prayer book published in Moscow in 1640. "Every page of Old Slavonic script is precious to us, he states. "Who knows what secrets will be revealed. It was exactly under such circumstances that the priceless 'Lay of the Host of Igor' was discovered".

## Publication of Bulgakov's Works Debated

### Domestic Academic Edition Urged

18000213a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 87 p 4

[Unattributed article: "The Authorship of Mikhail Bulgakov—Our Priceless Property"]

[Excerpt] A literal stream of reader letters poured into the editorial office in response to the publication "In Defense of the Name and Authorship of Mikhail Bulgakov" (6 September) and "Illegally or Secretly" (13 September). Practically all of them support the proposal expressed in the open letter published by Yu. Bondarev, I. Belza, and O. Trubachev on the need to publish an academic-type collection of the works of Mikhail Bulgakov first of all in the Homeland.

"Undoubtedly the appearance in the American 'Ardis' Publishing House of the works and letters of M.A. Bulgakov which until now have been unknown in the Homeland and were secretly taken from it painfully wounds the pride and patriotic sentiments of every person in our country," writes M. Mig, a lawyer from the city of Perm. "Bulgakov's creative works are a treasure of Soviet literature and our national property; they reflected all the complexities and contradictions of the Russian intelligentsia in the first years of the revolution and its philosophy, strivings, tragic mistakes, prickly path of insight, and transition to the position of the revolutionary people." He dwells in detail on the legal and moral aspects of the problem, examining them in his own way and emphasizing that the insufficient attention of publishers to many of Bulgakov's works which took shape historically created room for illegal acts or free interpretation of them. And he comes to this conclusion: "Is it surprising after all this that apologists of anti-Sovietism try to pit his name against our socialist culture and the Soviet people. That should be a lesson for organizations which are in charge of protecting the authors' rights of Soviet writers. Cases of squandering our national property must be prevented, rather than merely looking for the guilty ones in foreign publishing houses.

"Naturally, the letter's authors' proposal to publish an academic edition of Bulgakov's works in the USSR can only be welcomed," writes Ya.S. Lurye, doctor of philosophical sciences. "I have been publishing texts of literary monuments for 40 years and have been actively involved in Bulgakov's creative works since 1965 when the first article on the history of the text of the novel 'Belaya gvardia' and the play 'Dni Turbinykh' was published. This article was published during Ye.S. Bulgakova's lifetime and in direct contact with her. In 1981 I was involved in a project which for the first time posed the task of an academic edition of Bulgakov's texts, but more modest in volume than the collection of works being proposed—to prepare the three-volume set 'Teatralnoye nasledie M.A. Bulgakova' [The Dramaturgic

Legacy of M.A. Bulgakov] (plays). It must be explained to a reader unfamiliar with textual criticism that this type of edition requires an enormous amount of work—all existing copies and redactions must be collated and the history of their text must be ascertained (as regards this see 'Tekstologiya' by D.S. Likhachev) and only then are they published." And then the author speaks out most decisively regarding the assertion (in the commentary published in the paper by the chief of the manuscript department of the Lenin Library, L. Tiganova) that "priceless manuscripts from our archives have turned up abroad": "If it is established that such things are missing, the guilty parties should be punished under the law."

Of course, in quoting excerpts from readers' letters, we apologize beforehand for the necessary incompleteness of the quotations. The general range of the questions posed is more important here and the general unanimity of all those who responded even on at least two problems: first, **is such an edition necessary** and, secondly, **who is to blame** that the question of such an edition in our country was dragged out for so many years and why in fact was the commission on Bulgakov's literary legacy really inactive in this connection?

"I believe that the authors of the letter in the newspaper, comrades Yu. Bondarev, I. Belza, and O. Trubachev, performed a civic act by their penetrating and principled posing of the question of such an edition before the public," writes construction engineer Yu. Beloborodov. "And it is strange to now read in other publications 'accusations' against them for making the proposal. And 'accusations' by whom? Certain 'Bulgakov experts'? After all, it was the commission on the writer's literary legacy which should have posed this question. But the commission, alas, did not do so, for some reason (we readers do not know why)." I.L. Klimovetskiy, a teacher from Zaporozhye Oblast writes about the same thing.

"How can we approve the 'pirate' methods which certain American publishers use? But not all the blame need be laid on the American side alone. We ourselves are above all to blame for the fact that even today, 47 years after Bulgakov's death, we have no collection of his works," write literature instructor R.E. Arbitman, doctor V.Yu. Kazakov, and philosophy instructor V.M. Sokolenko from Saratov. "Now the anecdotal instances described by L. Yanovskaya (the journal URAL, No 5, 1987) when the State Library imeni V.I. Lenin would not give her her own letters to Ye.S. Bulgakova 'since they were being kept for an associate of the archives who was interested in the life and work of Bulgakov' seem understandable. In summarizing the results the above authors write: 'The appearance of the collected works of Mikhail Bulgakov is a remarkable event and all lovers of our literature can only welcome it. However, everyone knows very well how the number of the printed copies of academic editions is restricted so, as it seems to us, the appearance in the periodical press of Bulgakov's works and letters provided with the proper commentary should only be praised.'"

This statement is disputed by a number of letter writers who try to prove the right of certain publications to take liberties and the subjectivism of the commentaries. I. Krantsfeld, an engineer from Kharkov, cites the example of such an article—the clearly confused assertions of V. Zuyev in the book "Amplituda", where the novel "Master i Margarita" is discussed ("Donbass" Publishers, 1983). Unfortunately, there are a considerable number of such examples.

"I have known for a long time," writes V. Petelin, a researcher of M. Bulgakov's creative works, "that 'Ardis' had made an attempt to publish a collection of his works and that three volumes had come out. This news brings out complex and contradictory feelings: it is good that a Russian writer is enjoying such success in America, but it is shameful for our state. It is a pity that in the author's Homeland the debate continues of whether to publish a four-volume or an academic-type complete collection of his works.

"I have no doubt: the time has long come to prepare an academic collection of M.A. Bulgakov's works, that is to prepare definitive texts of his works, when possible provide variants, drafts, plans, and scholarly commentaries, and publish his correspondence.

"Indeed, how much poaching by foreign publishing houses can we stand and indulgently look on while they rob us, humiliate us, and point their fingers at us, saying—just look, they have such wealth but they don't want to take advantage of it. Why have we not yet published the complete M.A. Bulgakov? I never cease to be amazed at this absurdity.

"What specifically can be done in the near future? First of all, in addition to work on the academic edition, a book of the early works of M. Bulgakov which are little known to the broad reading public must also be published."

Many readers—L.F. Korablev from Novosibirsk, B. and T. Solovyev from Moscow, and others—demand the names of the specific people who are to blame, those people who helped send the archive treasures of Bulgakov abroad. Naturally, there are other letters in the editorial mail—from S. Lesnevskiy and S. Zhitomirskaya. They agree with the articles on this subject by M. Chudakova and B. Sarnov which appeared in the press. Readers naturally have the opportunity to compare them and draw their own conclusions, as, for example, the Moscow teacher N. Kokoreva did when she expressed bewilderment: why does the Bulgakov expert M. Chudakova "consider it natural that the collected works of Bulgakov in the United States will come out in 10 volumes, but in the writer's native country a 5-volume set is enough?"

"The newspaper raised the question of publishing all of Bulgakov in a timely manner. Publishing the literary legacy of Russian and Soviet writers, those who for

certain objective and more often subjective reasons have not been published for a long time, means reconstructing a more complete and adequate picture of our rich culture and history. And we should not confine ourselves to one or two names," emphasizes the Muscovite S. Nikonenko, "for then it will also turn out to be a distortion."

All these questions have truly become pressing.

### OGONEK Readers Respond

18000213b Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 30,  
12-19 Dec 87 p 2

[Untitled letter signed by B. Lobanov, S. Fomin, Ye. Platonova]

[Text] We must confess that we were extremely surprised by the recent article in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA of 22 November under the rubric "Responses: In Defense of the Name and Authorship of Mikhail Bulgakov." It is very strange that among those who stand up for an academic edition of M.A. Bulgakov as soon as possible, there are scholars of the humanities. They should, after all, remember that the difference between an academic, a complete, and simply a collection of works is taught in the first year in languages and literatures departments and even in pedagogical VUZes. Preparing an academic collection is so complicated that the only Soviet writer who has been "academically" published in our country is V. Mayakovsky; the publication of Gorky is not finished, and two leading scientific institutes have been preparing the "academic" Blok for almost 10 years and not a single volume has yet been published.

I would like to say something about the titled and high-ranking intercessors for Mikhail Afanasyevich. Where were they before, when each of his lines and each article about him had a very hard time getting through. We would like to remind people that for the very fact of the appearance of most of these articles we are obliged to Doctor of Philological Sciences M.O. Chudakova. And she is a member of the commission on Bulgakov's literary legacy, which every one of the newly appeared "defenders" from the pages of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is now striving to cast stones at and accuse of mortal sins without offering proof.

The letter from candidate of philological sciences L.M. Yanovskaya (whose manuscript of a book about Bulgakov has, it turns out, disappeared from the safe of the "Khudozhestvennaya literatura" Publishing House in an absolutely fantastic way. Was it not Woland who interfered in the fate of the work by the literary critic from Kharkov?) is published as a specialist's opinion in the newspaper. Of course, relations between researchers on a particular subject are often far from unclouded. Is it ethical in such circumstances to offer only one side the chance to speak out?



The decision to publish an academic Bulgakov, no matter how paradoxical, will keep the broad reader from meeting the writer's works for a long time. Just recall how slowly work on the academic collection of the works of F.M. Dostoyevskiy is going (it has been in the process of being published since 1972), and certainly this writer has his fair share of specialists and research. We are certain that an academic edition of Mikhail Afanasyevich is a task for the future (we hope the not-so-distant future). An ordinary collection of the works of M.A. Bulgakov in five or six volumes should come out promptly—in the next 2-3 years. We propose publishing this collection as a supplement to OGONEK.

That is much more reasonable than shouting the really unsupported slogan "We Will Overtake and Pass" and rushing after the foreign publishing house, while acting as if Bulgakov is the only one in this situation in our country. But then what about Platonov, Akhmatova, Pasternak, Mandelstam, Gumilev, Tsvetayeva, Babel, Pilnyak, and others—unfortunately, one cannot list right off all those published in the West more completely than in our country. The ones who should be accused of lack of patriotism are above all those who held back and "did not permit," while publishing their own works in larger editions than Bulgakov ever dreamed of. This abnormal occurrence should be investigated: by whom, why, and how was this done?

We intend to send a letter to OGONEK because it was in OGONEK that many Bulgakov materials were first printed.

V. Lobanov—doctor, S. Fomin—journalist, and Ye. Platonova—white-collar worker, Odintsovo, Moscow Oblast.

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#### Commission Head Clarifies Plans

18000213c Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, 13 Jan 88 p 2

[Interview with A. Karaganov, the chairman of the commission on the literary legacy of M.A. Bulgakov, conducted by Ye. Kuzmin, place and occasion not given]

[Text] [Question] Recently there has been a great deal of varied discussion in the press about the fate of the legacy of M.A. Bulgakov.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Ye. Kuzmin met with the chairman of the commission on the literary legacy of M.A. Bulgakov, A. Karaganov, who said:

[Answer] A large number of major writers could be named whose works were kept back for decades; in this Bulgakov, alas, is not alone, he shared a common fate. Why the question of the dates, scope, and content of a collection of his works, which was complex in conditions

of that time, was not decided for so long can be discussed only in that context. In that sense certain current newspaper articles on publishing his legacy are, to put it mildly, incorrect and based on insufficient information on the real state of affairs or on disinformation.

[Question] At one time K.M. Simonov did not manage to "push through" a collection of Bulgakov's works. However, times have changed.

[Answer] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers probably know that the collegium of the USSR Goskomizdat and the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union governing board make the decision to publish collected works. As for the Bulgakov collection the decision was made in late 1985. Planned for the end of the current five-year plan period, the collection was to come out in 4 volumes in an edition of 100,000 copies. Today these plans have been revised: a 5-volume set will be published in an edition of 200,000 copies.

It is not necessary to bewitch oneself with the telling phrase "academic collection of works." An academic collection is an enormous job which only the institutions of the Academy of Sciences are in a position to do. When he hears of such plans for the near future, P. Nikolayev, the leader of our academic philology, shrugs his shoulders in bewilderment.

Assuming that terminological confusion has arisen and the subject is a scholarly edition, then the collection of works under preparation is intended to be just that. In 10-15 years, perhaps, we will reach the point of an academic collection, but it will already be slightly different in terms of interest—more for specialists.

[Question] Have the contents of the collected works been determined?

[Answer] Yes, on the eve of the new year a meeting of the editorial collegium of collected works was held where its prospectus was confirmed.

Bulgakov's early prose and the novel "White Guard" will come out in the first volume. In the second—"Dyavoliada" [Devilry], "Rokovyye yaytsa" [Fatal Eggs], "Sobachye serdtse" [Heart of a Dog], "Khanskiy ogon" [The Khan's Fire], satirical articles from GUDOK and NAKANUNE, and a number of stories. The third volume contains Bulgakov's plays. Some of them will move to the fourth volume in which "Teatralnyy roman" [A Theatrical Novel] and "Zhizn gospodina de Moliyera" [The Life of Mr. Moliere] are also being published. The fifth volume is "Master i Margarita" (with an appendix of earlier versions) and selected letters.

There is a rule that only works published earlier are to be included in a collection of works. In 1987 the journals helped us a great deal by publishing "Heart of a Dog," "Bagrovyy ostrov" [Bagrov Island], and "Adam i Yeva"

[Adam and Eve]. So there are now no formal or informal obstacles for these works. The first volume will come out in 1989 and the rest—in 1990.

[Question] Who will prepare the edition, make up the commentaries and notes, and write the foreword? For the reader hopes that Bulgakov's creative works will be discussed as fully as possible and in an unprejudiced and objective way.

[Answer] The corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. Nikolayev and V. Novikov, as well as V. Lakshin, A. Puzikov, M. Chudakova, A. Ninov, A. Smelyanskiy, and other specialists will take on that job.

[Question] How will the textual criticism work be carried out? The Bulgakov Archives in the manuscript department of the Library imeni V.I. Lenin are virtually closed to researchers even now: not everyone and not everything necessary for the work can obtain or be obtained here.

[Answer] Our meetings 2 years ago with the then USSR deputy minister of culture T. Golubtsova and the director of the library N. Kartashchov could not convince them that the fund had to be opened immediately. One of the main opponents of opening the fund is the deputy chief of the manuscript department V. Losev, who, while not allowing Bulgakov experts into the Bulgakov archives and not being a specialist himself, began publishing his works. This question is now being decided, as the USSR Ministry of Culture has informed us.

12424

### **Rybakov's Portrait of Stalin Questioned for Historical Accuracy**

18000200a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Dec 87 p 6

[Article by V. Murzakov: "History and the Author's View"]

[Text] Nothing raises society's moral potential as much as universal open discussion of the most important, pressing problems of life.

Truth and morality have again become the basic ideas of our policy. At the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that our policy is distinguished by candor. And that was not only the proclamation of a program for the future but also a report on the party's activities since the moment restructuring began.

We are examining our history, long past and recent, with acute interest and with patriotic inspiration are trying to fill in artificially created gaps.

And it is completely natural that the 1930's arouse particular interest. This complex and contradictory period has been covered by our historical science in the most sparse and vague way, even though it reflected the creative enthusiasm of the masses, the heroism of the first five-year plan periods, and the tragedy of the people related to Stalin's cult of personality.

At a meeting with the leaders of the mass information media, M.S. Gorbachev said that what happened in 1937-1938 must never be forgotten nor excused, but no matter how terrible that time was, it is our history, a time when the party and the people went through severe trials together.

The time has come to eliminate the blank spots in history; historians today owe us a great deal, and writers are outdoing them.

The works of A. Akhmatova, D. Granin, V. Dudintsev, and A. Rybakov, which in different degrees of depth and from different points of view attempt to grasp the great and bitter truth of those years, to speak definitively and to interpret fully the contradictory picture of Stalin, are being published in journals one after the other. A. Tvardovskiy's long poem "By Right of Memory"—undoubtedly an enormous achievement of Soviet poetry—rang out with tremendous tragic force.

The publication of Anatoliy Rybakov's novel "Deti Arbata" [Children of the Arbat] caused a real stir. It seemed to many people that this work contains that truth which has become essential to both the older generation and to youth.

It is not easy to talk about the novel. This is above all related to the great, and moreover deservedly great, literary reputation of A. Rybakov and to the fate of his books with readers. He is the author of a famous trilogy on which more than one generation of children has been raised. He has penned major social novels, for one of which ("Voditeli" [The Drivers]) he was awarded the title laureate of the State Prize. He has written a very profound and dramatic book "Tyazhelyy pesok" [Heavy Sand]. And, finally, there is the giddy success of the novel "Children of the Arbat."

So how did the author captivate the reader?

Above all with his passion, candor, and personal pain and the fact that the work on the book was done without looking over his shoulder for an internal or external editor; it was the writer's moral obligation.

To be objective one must note that although the reader was captivated, the critics, by contrast, were not unanimous in their assessments.

But the critics brought down a literal squall of praise on the author and amid that noise the spontaneous, most often emotional and poorly motivated disagreement of the common reader either was not heard at all or was interpreted as an annoying sour note in a harmonious orchestra.

More than one problem of human existence is raised in "Children of the Arbat." It deals with the interpretation of power in its philosophical and historical aspects, the eternal question of good and evil, ends and means, the problem of choice, and free will. There are things to ponder. There are things to argue about.

And people do argue. Only not in the press. Here our mass information media is showing not exactly timidity, but a certain sluggishness which is perhaps not in keeping with the spirit of the times.

If a writer has managed to pose so many questions and disturbing problems in his work and if these questions are so complex that they generate polemics, then let us speak out openly, respecting both the author and the reader.

"There is now a great deal of debate about Stalin's role in our history. His personality is extremely contradictory. Defending the position of historical truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and to protect its achievements, and the flagrant political mistakes and despotism committed by him and his circle which our people paid a great price for, and which entailed terrible consequences for the life of our society. People sometimes assert that Stalin did not know about the cases of lawlessness. Documents which we have available say that is not so. The guilt of Stalin and his close circle before the party and the people for the mass repressions and lawlessness committed is enormous and inexcusable. That is a lesson for all generations,"—that is how the period is weighed and objectively discussed in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. And in light of that it is particularly essential, as it seems to me, to analyze those aspects of the novel which require historical commentary and philosophical interpretation.

Stalin has been portrayed in Soviet artistic literature and memoir writing more than once by different authors. It would be unfair to accuse them of deliberate insincerity. But for well-known reasons the character of Stalin has turned out to be either one-sided or truncated.

In "Children of the Arbat," in my opinion, the author looks least of all at history. He is entirely captivated by his artistic version, which creative fantasy, relying both on the writer's personal experience and on the study of available documents, suggested to him.

As a result when the character of Stalin was created, to a large degree psychologism prevailed over historicism. All Stalin's actions are explained in the novel by a definite and abnormal inferiority complex. It was precisely this genetic feature which was the reason for creating the atmosphere of autocracy in the country where he, so warmly loved by the people and elevated to the summit of glory, became the organizer of the Great Terror and the mass repressions.

A. Latsis's idea which he expressed in a review of the novel published in the newspaper IZVESTIYA seems fair to me. Deepening of the historicism of the narration and a fuller artistic analysis of the entire breadth of the life of those years would undoubtedly give great range and authenticity not only to the interpretation of our history but also of the personalities of certain characters.

Of course, any version of a character and events is the inalienable right of the author.

But then there arises the very important question of historical truth and plausibility, and of the interpretation of the nation's life in certain historical circumstances. That is to say, are we dealing with a chronicle of the age or with a book which is primarily literary? That is very important. And critics could give their understanding of this, for artistic versions taken as documentary evidence cause confusion in the reader's mind and do not help clarify the blank spots of history.

A realistic historical background could most likely play a decisive role in resolving this contradiction between literary truth and historical truth, but, true to his concept, the author seems to speak only incidentally about the time when it is outside the fates of the main heroes.

The real history of the people's life of those years was more dialectical. After all, this was also a time of the great labor surge of the masses and the birth of the Stakhanovite movement, shock work, and universal enthusiasm.

At the same time the leaders of the country were becoming alienated from the people's mood and, moreover, perhaps even the people themselves. The intensification of the political struggle in the upper echelons of power and the personal qualities of Stalin did not play the last role in this.

In the foreword to A. Rybakov's four-volume set we read: "No, for Rybakov, as for many people who wrote before him, the Arbat is not simply a street but a certain spiritual concept which embodied the tangled knot of old and new Russian history, the highest Moscow intelligentsia, and the most unfettered, lowly Moscow street life."

This was written long before "Children of the Arbat" came out, but in a certain sense it expresses its main pathos.



And, in my opinion, it was precisely the author's aim to show the drama of the "children of the Arbat" that prevented him from portraying the tragedy of the people to the fullest extent.

In my opinion, he did not realize the effect of a drop of water in which the world is reflected. Perhaps this only happens with a drop of dew, but a drop which has fallen on the asphalt only reflects traffic and nearby buildings. I do not know. But I can say that such questions did not occur to me when I was reading A. Tvardovskiy's long poem "By Right of Memory" and the novels of A. Bek, V. Dudintsev, and D. Granin, although all these works are also devoted to the theme of Stalin's cult of personality.

I have dwelt in considerable detail on only one facet of the novel, related to the theme of Stalin, but I would like to turn to a theme which concerns me as a native Siberian.

The novel not only speaks of Stalin's cult but also tells about the life of the Siberian countryside and away from the center of the country. However, in the attitude of the main hero Sasha Pankratov and, moreover, the author, there is something Robinsonesque, a certain arrogance of the resident of the center toward the wild outlying districts. It is difficult to agree with this view. Siberia is characterized by the severity of its climate and strictness of customs, but not by lack of spirituality.

The creative and moral strength of the Siberian has been shown in various epochs and in the most varied spheres of human activity. There is obviously a powerful potential for developing spirituality in our kray if it gave the world Mendeleyev, and Surikov, and Vrubel, and Yershov, and Alyabyev, and Kyubyshev, and Karbyshev, and V. Ivanov, and Fadeyev...

If one remembers that one of the main elements of spirituality is patriotism, then Siberians have exhibited it to the fullest extent in heroically defending Moscow.

While certain deviations from the principle of historicism in the portrayal of Stalin can be explained by plot requirements, the passion of exposure, and justified civic anger, the attitude of the author and of his heroes toward Siberians demands a different explanation.

The novel seems to consist of two layers—the first is devoted to the personality of Stalin and the second—to the fate of Sasha Pankratov, a young man in the 1930's, who goes through terrible ordeals. Above all it is the analysis and interpretation of Stalin's personality that attracts readers' attention. And a kind of aberration of the reader's vision takes place—the author's conjectures and artistic invention (especially when he is reconstructing the thoughts and secret intentions of Stalin) are taken almost as documentary and as the final truth. And that is the weakness and vulnerability of the author's position.

Today the novel is living its life. Now we must think for a bit about how to protect this work from narrow-minded interpretations.

The task of criticism in the period of glasnost and free expression of opinions is to focus on particular aspects—both political and literary.

But to do this different people must speak out about the novel in detail. I think that will bring us closer to the truth.

V. Murzakov, Omsk.

### Critic Finds Shatrov's "Brest Peace" Dealing "Loosely" with Facts

18000200b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Georgiy Melikyants: "An Echo of the Brest Peace—Comments on the Premiere at the Vakhtangov Theater"]

[Text] A real history of society interprets the turning point of its life with complete lack of prejudice. It does not turn away from the complexity of problems, does not avoid paradoxes, and does not hush up names.

The aspiration to historical truth is a feature of our time. Interest in the biography of the Soviet age and of our party has intensified and, one might say, reached its high point not merely because the desire to know the past better is natural. And surely not in order to thoughtlessly set fire to everything that people were devoted to. This is vitally important for the present and even more important for the future: what criteria to live by, what stereotypes to reject, and what grain, separated from the chaff, to plant.

The question thus moves (let us recall Lenin's winged phrase) "from the area of theory to the area of practice."

Literature, drama, and the theater cannot fail to be included in this work. It is bad when artistic creativity feeds on market considerations. But when in following its own laws it augments our knowledge and senses in our burning quests, it is worthy of respect and gratitude.

The events of the revolution nourish the dramas of Mikhail Shatrov. It is difficult to say who is stronger in Shatrov—the writer or the historian. He studies the documents in order to discover the struggle of passions which make up the personality. His plays and film scripts are always subjects of debate; truth, including truth about a person, is born in debate, as is well known. That is even more justified since the main image of all his creative works is V.I. Lenin, the great polemicist who was never afraid to "join the fray." Lenin's disputes with enemies, and frequently with his comrades-in-arms, formed the basis of the dramatism of Shatrov's plays.

Quite a lot has been written about Shatrov's contribution to Lenin lore. I think that above all this is Lenin giving lessons on revolutionary dialectics.

I would also call M. Shatrov's play "Brestskiy mir" [Brest Peace] staged at the Vakhtangov Theater an artistic-publicistic introduction to the laboratory of Lenin's thought. Of course, there are other prominent figures of October in it besides Lenin; they are mentioned by name and each one is given a substantial role; but in the center is the figure of Vladimir Ilyich in a moment of danger: "Lenin was never so great as in moments of danger," says the epigraph to the play taken from the appeal of the Central Committee of the Russian CP of Bolsheviks "To the Party. To All Working People" of 22 January 1924. The struggle regarding the Brest Peace was for Lenin both a question of tactics and a question of strategy, of both practice and of theory, and of both discovering momentary disagreements and of affirming the basic truths of socialism. It attracted an enormous amount of philosophical, historical, political-economic, and human material on one admittedly very crucial and important question. It is well known that Lenin loved to repeat: "We must consult Marx"; on the question of the very difficult, the extortionist, the "obscene" peace, he also consults Marx, but he consults the soldier's widow, the peasant, and the worker as well. He takes it up, he tries to prove it, he becomes impassioned, he blows up, and he restrains himself—and his conviction becomes even stronger and his truth proves to be the only truth.

One follows this—the progress of his thinking, the change in mood, the motivations of actions, and the attitude toward people with enthusiasm: it is infectious, it forces one to compare, and it awakens thought and feeling. And, extremely importantly, it helps present the atmosphere of those years in the party and to understand why even Lenin's opponents loved him and what the global burden he took upon himself cost him. And here the document gives the floor to art and the publicist—to the artist.

The producer of the play, R. Sturua, who concentrated on the duel of thought rejected a photographic similarity between the characters and their historical prototypes. That has already appeared in our theater, for example in the performances about Lenin based on the plays by M. Shatrov: O. Yefremov's "So We Will Win!" and M. Zakharov's "Blue Horses on Red Grass." But the point, it seems, is not repeating the device. There is no similarity but there are details and features of the usual portrait: Vladimir Ilyich's coat and cap, Nadezhda Konstantinovna's hat, Dzerzhinskiy's overcoat, Stalin's jacket and pipe. Only where does Trotskiy's Mephistopheles-like cloak come from, Trotskiy who by the way preferred a military jacket? And there are no distinctive features at all in Bukharin's appearance. Is it that these people were appearing on our stage for the first time?

Certainly not: authenticity is fine and good, but the colorlessness of the one and the demonic character of the other are like symbols of a set pattern.

Those people who argued with Lenin appear clearly in "Brest Peace." Some (like Bukharin) were at the mercy of the revolutionary phrase when universal truths, in Lenin's observation, "are so inflated that they become untrue and turn into declamation." Others (like Trotskiy) are unable to rid themselves of adventurism in politics and are prepared to play with the fates of millions for the sake of the effective gesture. Still others (Dzerzhinskiy) give in to feeling "without specially examining the conditions of the particular case," which Lenin also pointed out. Their names are pronounced, their conclusions are quoted, and Vladimir Ilyich's attitude toward them is shown. That is why the audience follows each turn in the debate so closely. Overcoming one-sidedness in history is a sign of the new climate in which the social sciences are developing. The desire to get to the bottom of the truth enriches literature, theater, and film.

Shatrov's creative method is labor-intensive and at the same time extremely simple. The speech of historical persons often contains their real statements. For that reason the dramatist is accused of having his heroes speak in quotations. But he also models their lines on the basis of their own thoughts—and then he is accused of taking liberties. Provided there is an accurate sense of measure, I think that both devices are fruitful.

Fairness requires that we give Yelena Dmitriyevna Stasova her due here. As the secretary of the Central Committee, she supervised the protocols of the meetings of the party Central Committee. History received superb examples of the living record of the course of the debates. Stasova has not merely grasped the basic idea of the speaker. She has managed to keep the precise form of expression.

(Those who wish to really know the party's history must be given the opportunity to become familiar not only with the retelling of its history but also with the primary sources. However, the "Central Committee Protocols" in Stasova's records have been a bibliographic rarity for a long time.)

Unfortunately, I cannot agree with all the expansion and "enrichment" of the documents in the play. For example, was it necessary to move the famous quarrel about "the glass—is it a vessel for drinking?" to another time and to another situation? In reality this polemic on dialectics and eclectics took place 3 years later, during the debate on trade unions. One might say; but after all, the idea of the polemic is conveyed accurately. I answer: that does not explain dealing loosely with the facts.

The performance of the Vakhtangov players holds the audience in constant expectation of an explosion. G. Kanchel's music is very conducive to that. The swift

passages, the elevated tones (which are perhaps justified by the feverish atmosphere of the argument), and the asceticism of the scenery (artist G. Aleksi-Meskhishvili) are supposed to cut off everything secondary and everything common and focus interest on the skirmish of the arguments and differences of the characters. The director is completely successful in doing this.

However, there was no explosion.

In Shatrov's play and Sturua's staging Lenin is pitted against people whose words and actions are programmed—despite all attempts to develop a rising conflict. The play was written 20 years ago. Then it was a breakthrough for the time. Today I want to know more and more precisely about Lenin's comrades-in-arms.

But episode follows episode and one can guess ahead of time what will be said and how Lomov or Sverdlov will act. Bukharin is given a single color—the romantic of the revolution, and he speaks eloquently. But all this is words, words, words. Trotskiy is one color too: he is the lover of theatricality, a poseur, and he reduces the question of peace to setting up the next experiment. Even Stalin is portrayed with one color: he does not have his own opinion, he is irritable, and he allows himself to clamber up on the back of the young bureaucrat and even says aloud that for him the party is "an order of knights, with its discipline, hierarchy, philosophy, and morals."

The Stalin of early 1918 is openly designed for the year 1938. This is not needed now when we know so much about him. And we know that the "great leader" did not betray his secret thoughts. In the journal version of the play Sverdlov pronounces these words on Stalin's views. They are in place there. By handing them over to Stalin, the theater risks turning the portrait into a caricature.

This is not the only example where in working on the play the theater made decisions which, in my opinion, were not the best. Thus, in cutting out a number of characters, which was possibly correct, not even Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontay was left in. Her lines were given to Inessa Fedorovna Armand. But if one is to be scrupulous, Armand, who had come from Moscow to Petrograd for just a short time, went back in the very heat of the debate, while Kollontay was really one of Lenin's fervent enemies.

Handing the lines over to another character is also essentially a change in emphasis. Using the example of the "order of knights," we have already seen this. And here is another example.

Stalin: Everything is not yet clear, but even without going into the essence of the matter, I simply believe in you, Vladimir Ilyich.

Lenin: I do not want you to believe in me. I want you to understand me.

This is said in the NOVYY MIR version of the play when events are still just beginning to unfold. Searching for a finale, the theater moves Lenin's words into the finale. Only then are they addressed to Bukharin in response to this passage of his: "You would cease to respect me if I, Nikolay Bukharin, your pupil, against my own party conscience, raised my hand for a decision which I consider fatal to the Russian and world revolution. (Remark: Lenin is silent). But we believe in you, Vladimir Ilyich." That, to be frank, is an illogical speech. "I consider fatal" means I do not believe. No alternative is given. The temptation to end the performance with a paternally wise and tragic phrase was overpowering, however. One can understand that. But inasmuch as the conclusion does not flow from the premise, the explosion did not happen.

I want to speak of one other lost opportunity. In the performance we did not see the episode in Nadezhda Mikhailovna Lukina's apartment. The stern revolutionaries prove to be genial happy people and humaneness and mercy are in their blood. They do not simplify the complex nor complicate the simple. After crossing swords on a fundamental question, in ordinary life they are friendly and considerate. Comrades—that says it all. For them political debate is not a struggle against one another but a means of discovering the truth. Leaving out this episode, the theater also overlooked its essential point. That is a pity.

There will be many director decisions on the play "Brest Peace," the material itself calls for that. But what R. Sturua has found (above all the intellectual height of the interpretation) may become the basis for the further existence of this openly publicistic drama. Theater critics, historians, and sociologists will write about it.

There is, however, something which can already be spoken of as a phenomenon of the highest order—M. Ulyanov's performance in the role of Lenin in the Vakhtangov play. Recently on the television screen we saw the fuller, closer Lenin that he discovered two decades ago. I would say: more concrete; the "general" Lenin has already become established in our art, and now, in searching for answers to new questions, we still focus on him closely. The actor did not "play" the role of the great man as a mosaic portrait, he composed it of the individual features of an inexhaustible image. And Ulyanov speaks of his new work as only approaching the vast person of Vladimir Ilyich. Let us accept his assessment.

All the reserves of Ulyanov's actor's technique are transformed into movement. The feature, the detail, the gesture—and without seeing Lenin before us it is still him we see distinctly, make-up is not necessary, there is something elusive and, it turns out, more stable. But the main thing is the thought, the passion, the will. Consciousness of the burden of power: "always calculate and reckon out—for millions of destinies are in your hands." Longing for understanding. Hostility to the philosophy of "the simple ones and the chosen ones." Intelligence



down to roots of his hair. Political realism, exposure of the essence of the question. And in light of this—"we are after all comrades": it was just then that the party declared the cadets enemies of the people, but never apply this concept to comrades in one's own party, even to opponents!

Lenin was passionate and highly emotional. He laughed infectiously. But, as Krupskaya recalls, a nervous tremor did not leave him for the whole night when after the second congress "it became clear that Zasulich was not headed in the same direction as Martov." Was he so hot-tempered as M. Ulyanov at times shows? Note: the actor is not bound to photographic similarity; he is free to play his own attitude toward people, events, and the essence of the debate and to emphasize certain things. Lenin's thought remains determinant.

In addition to Ulyanov, the other performers, above all V. Lanovoy (Trotsky), A. Filippenko (Bukharin), A. Parfanyak (Krupskaya), I. Kupchenko (Armand), and V. Koval (Stalin), do everything possible—within the framework which the playwright and the director have set for them. The Former Ones do not seem foreign: this couple moved into Shatrov's political drama from the morals plays of Brecht. With the saving of time and expressive means clearly stated by the producer, they (the conventional character itself and the bare stage) nonetheless fully join in the somewhat cinematographic style of the performance.

So, another play of those which had lain in desks and on shelves has seen the light of the stage. This does not arouse an intensified response in anyone today: that is now the norm, the theater itself builds its repertoire, and the desire to reach out to the audience with a critical theme is natural.

For the Vakhtangov people this performance is the first major step of their renewed artistic leadership.

And our theater has received a work in which the facts of real history serve the tasks of contemporary times. 12424

#### **Academic Reviews Novel on Cultural Preservation in Ukraine**

18000138a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by P. Tolochko, doctor of history, director of the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences: "Frank Talk: The Cathedrals of Our Souls That We Can Destroy Through Our Indifference"]

[Text]Recently a great deal has been written about our mistakes, errors, and distortions of yesterday. Evidently, this is natural: The past does not leave without a trace, we must talk and write about it, but, perhaps, not so loudly, and with more profound analysis, *why* all this took place, and not only about the fact that it did take

place. This task, it seems, is more suitable to the impartial historian than to an emotionally excited man of letters. But for this, time is needed and open access to the archives, and we might as well confess, the breaking of the persisting stereotype of historical research, which for decades has been oriented toward showing primarily achievements.

From others I heard and I myself frequently thought of the question: Are we not eternally doomed to be smart with hindsight? And where were we when the deformities were perpetrated? Were we silent? Yes, we were silent about this, but the detective stories for the children, production novels for adults, not to mention fiction were written and published on a regular basis. Now we can talk about shortcomings—and here we unburden our heart. It turns out, some of our boldness today is related to the superficiality of yesterday, and, it turns out, it comes not so much from internal conviction in the necessity of struggle against evil, as from the safety of its manifestation. But if they had fought when this was necessary and everyone in his place, perhaps it would not be necessary to restructure so much today.

Fortunately, the distressing logic of such positions was nevertheless subjected to reconsideration and even complete rejection long before the "permission to have our own I"—precisely thanks to the fact that the conscience of our society continued and continues to forge characters of the highest civil courage, giving the world outstanding fates and talents simultaneously with the rejection of any scum on its character. In talking about this, I remember among other devotees of the national spirit the name of Oles Gonchar and his remarkable novel "Sobor" [Cathedral], which was published at the end of the 1960's in the Ukraine and has seen publication in Russian only now.

The themes of respect for the past, the preservation and most assiduous care for the historical-cultural legacy of the people, and the spiritual health of man that were raised in them were not then, when "Sobor" was created, among themes that would "go through". During the 1960's one could hear, from the highest platform of the country, reproaches directed at those who went astray in the patriarchal days of old and who were infected by some sort of "local patriotism". During that time we lost many remarkable monuments of the past. I do not want to irritate the soul by enumerating them. But the loss would be significantly larger if Oles Gonchar had not come out in defense of our spiritual and material values with his novel.

The book came out in 1967 and told about how the country lived at that time. Its central sacred image became an 18th century architectural monument, the cathedral in the industrial settlement of Zaplechlyank, which was on the point of being touched by the all-destroying hand of human ignorance. In the concrete case, our reality of that time reflected the distorted phenomenon of a nihilistic attitude toward history, and

the cathedral—this 9-cupola marvel of Kazakh architecture—became the symbol of the ineradicability of the human spirit. And how poetically it is described in the novel!

Oles Gonchar does not simply appeal to take care of beauty, he even investigates the attitude of people to it, poses important problems of ethics and morality, and shows life in all its complexity and contradictoriness. How often we justify our lack of initiative and the lack of civic spirit by references to circumstances: "The line, they say, was such at the time, all acted that way." In so doing, we were convinced that this "line" was determined by some one, and not by us. The pronoun "they" came to be associated with those who did evil. But, you see, "they"—this is also we. It was not any special breeding-ground that gave rise to such figures as the character of the novel Volodka Loboda, who were ready to build a shashlik-house, an open market, or a pool in the place of the cathedral. They grew up and were educated in society, and, consequently, all are responsible for the fact that, at some stage of development, our moral and ethical reference-points were so strongly distorted. This idea was splendidly expressed in the novel by the lips of the young architect Aleksey who—in response to the remark of his parents that he personally is not destroying the cathedral—declared: "All of us are destroying it, both I and you, as well as he—he pointed at his father. Already by the fact that we stand aside. . . . We are destroying it through our indifference! There were those who blew up the Desyatinnaya Church in Kiev, the Mikhaylovskiy Zlatoverkhiy Cathedral was destroyed before everyone's eyes. . . . And are we not spreading indifferent people? We are producing those who are brutal. . . . We are rearing the destroyer ourselves!"

Of course, not all destroyed, and not all were indifferent to this.

For example, the historian of the Ukrainian Cossacks, D. I. Yavornitskiy, about whose moral feat Oles Gonchar told so vividly in the novel, not fearing death, rose in the defense of the church in Zacheplyana. And, you see, his life was literally on the edge of Makhno's sword. The Kiev archaeologist N. Ye. Makarenko did not put his signature to the act for the demolition of the Mikhaylovskiy Zlatoverkhiy Cathedral, although he probably knew about the grievous consequences of such a step. Guarding the famous Sophia Cathedral against the Fascist barbarians, the architect I. V. Morgilevskiy died on the parvis. During the years when the action of the novel "Sobor" took place, many monuments of history and culture disappeared from the face of the earth, and in Chernigov the noteworthy devotees of our culture, the Muscovite P. D. Baranovskiy and the Kievan N. V. Kholostenko, were working on the restoration of fine works of Old Russian architecture—the Borisoglebskiy Cathedral of the 12th century and the Pyatnitskaya Church of the 12-13th centuries.

Thanks to such people, it proved possible to preserve from destruction already in the 1960's the cathedral which is the subject of discussion in the novel of Oles Gonchar. Having found out about the approaching danger, the majority of the inhabitants of the work settlement came to its defense. Unexpectedly for workers promoted to administrative posts of the type of Volodka Loboda, it turned out that people do not conceive themselves and their settlement without this "masterpiece of Kazakh baroque". "How is it," one of the heroines of the novel, the old Shpachikha said with indignation. "I have been at all the authorities. Why tear it down now? Who has grown tired of it?" The thoughts of the student Mikola Baglay are more elevated. It seems to him that "the demand for beauty and the aversion to destruction have always lived in the depths of the soul of his fellow countrymen, only they did not manifest themselves, they hardly noticed it in themselves, like Zacheplyanka does not notice the stillness of its summer nights while it is not disturbed by anyone, splashes of blast furnace glows while they burn. . . . When a shadow comes and spreads and a threat is imminent, you begin to understand that there are things without which the soul would be depleted and man would become wretched!" A worker of the plant, the activist Verunka Baglay, set off to the obkom secretary to seek protection for the cathedral. . . .

In this single impulse of the inhabitants of the settlement one feels the awakening feeling of their own dignity, the realization of belonging to the people-creator, which "rammed the old world of slavery with the armored trains of their hatred" and transmitted to us "not conceit, not arrogance, not pity, but a feeling of honor, goodness, dignity, and love of freedom." And also faith in a better future. "And all the same I believe in architects," says Mikola Baglay. I believe in changes: The demolisher, the vandal is already damned by us and will be damned by those in the future as well."

Oles Gonchar shows that the past is in need not only of protection, but also of careful preservation. This time, too, the cathedral endured the pressure of militant ignorance, but people are not really satisfied. They are not satisfied because many decades already solicitous restorers have not touched it. And can they be called solicitous when, appearing from time to time near the cathedral, they put in and repair the timber! "Potemkinists" they have been baptized in the settlement. How many of those have been erected throughout the country? Even now this vicious practice of deception has not been eliminated. Only the forms have changed. They are not putting in timbers. They research and develop a restoration project, they put together estimates and work schedules coordinated by the parties, and do not fulfill their obligations. A lively correspondence is started between the customer and the restoration shop, but the monument meanwhile is being destroyed. Such, in particular, is the fate of the Trapeznaya Church of the 17th century and the Vydubetskiy Monastery in Kiev, which seemingly is impatiently waiting for restorers. And this

besides the fact that all of their claims on the customer—the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences—have been fulfilled within the contract term.

"... Having arrived the next time in the settlement, the brigade leader of the restorers explained to its inhabitants why in its time the restoration work was put on ice. "You know how things are in our country: Now they have not confirmed the estimate, now there is no drying oil. . . ." "There is no soul in you," Fedor, the rolling mill operative remarked to this.

Today this reproach to the restorers can be shown to be unfair. Many of them really put spirit into their noble work and deserve all kinds of respect. But there are, unfortunately, also those who are similar to the Zacheplyanka restorers. If this were not so, we would not have lost valuable remnants of a church of the 12th century in the process of the restoration of the Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy Cathedral of the 18th century in Novgorod-Severskiy. They were researched by archaeologists in 1983, the restorers saw them, but, since the old walls of plinth and the majolica floors prevented the realization of the previously confirmed plan, they were demolished in 1986. This required a bulldozer, since the laying of Old Russian times did not give in to the pressure of spade and crowbar. And in no one did the soul quiver—neither in the concrete executors, nor in those who as a matter of control by the design office should have especially carefully followed the work of the restorers.

I confess, when I took the Russian translation of the novel "Sobor" that was published in Moscow into my hands, I did not think of reading the book again. Why? You see, I already knew it very well. In its time, we literally became engrossed in it. But, having run through the first pages, I suddenly discovered that once again I found myself in the power of the surprisingly gentle and melodious style, the quiet, but wise and disturbing reflection about the highest calling of man, about "the ultimate sense of all earthly wisdom." The new reading proved to be still more interesting than the previous one. The novel is perceived as profoundly modern. And if we did not know that it was published 20 years ago and if it had been written earlier than that, we would fully accept "Sobor" as a work of our day. In this lies its strength and attractiveness. And, apparently, for this reason it is being read again with great interest, it is disturbing as before, and it compels people to think. . .

At the risk of appearing too categorical, I would nevertheless like to express my attitude to the true calling of belles-lettres, which came into being during the reading of the novel of Oles Gonchar. It seems, it should not be likened to some kind of catalogue of yesterday's mistakes, but is obliged to be the mirror of the reality of today and to reflect it in all of its complexity and contradictoriness. How many times have we, and literature above all, leaned on the past bends of the line! In this we were both bold and perspicacious. But, separating ourselves from the fact that we condemned so

harmoniously, we did not see new mistakes and believed there were not any. We lived through still another period with optimism, and it turned out that we sinned in it, too. Is it not time to draw the conclusion: We must talk about everything in good time and place artistic talent in the service not so much of repentance of sins as their non-admission.

But, you see, the evil which took place in the 1960's has not been conquered even today. The emigrant Volodka Loboda has not vanished, and they have not made scarecrows of those like him, about which the student Mikola Baglay dreamed. There is life in the old dog yet, he has changed only outwardly. He does not express aloud the idea that "somehow tanks would come through in a crossing, unexpectedly close up and ram through the cathedral." On the contrary, he puts himself out in eternal love for the monuments of the past, writes articles in the newspapers, is indignant, passes judgment on others, makes appeals, but does not do anything practical for their preservation. Today this ostentatious activity impresses us!

The old teacher Foma Romanovich, who in his time had suffered for his love for the Zacheplyanka Cathedral, but had not changed his attitude to it one iota, addressing himself to the young people, said: "Look after the cathedrals of your own souls, friends. . . . The cathedrals of the souls!" The people of Zacheplyanka succeeded in doing it in the novel. They passed the test for spiritual strength. In real life this happens by far not always.

And here I would like to tell about the fate of the Uspenskiy Cathedral of the Kievo-Pecherskiy Monastery, a monument of the architecture of the 11th-18th centuries. Near it, in the most critical moment of its life, there proved to be no such defenders as were D. I. Yavornitskiy and I. V. Morgilevskiy. During the years of the Fascist occupation of Kiev, the cathedral was blown up, and today looks like a wound on the body of the architectural complex, a wound that is not healing. Not very much of it has remained, and that is literally collapsing before our eyes. The fate of the Uspenskiy Cathedral disturbs the people of Kiev, and not only them. Something must be done, for the years are passing, and we are losing even the little that we still have.

In its time in Kiev the idea of the restoration of the Uspenskiy Cathedral developed. People thought that the chief difficulties will arise already in the first stage of the realization of this idea—in the stage of its approval. It turned out that this was not the case. The UkSSR government, taking into account the wishes of the public, made a decision concerning the restoration of the cathedral. The development of the project was entrusted to Ukrainian Restoration Design Institute of the UkSSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, and the archaeological research necessary for this—to the Institute of Archaeology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences.



By the beginning of 1986, a creative collective, headed by the architect O. Grauzhis, had completed the development of the plan. And here is where the basic difficulties began.

The first one of them: Is it possible to restore the cathedral in accordance with this plan? It turned out that by far not all were agreed to this. Heated discussions developed.

The plan, undoubtedly, had to be discussed as extensively as possible. The only important thing was that these discussions should have a constructive character and should not be dragged out indefinitely and in the end destroy the living cause of the restoration of the Uspenskiy Cathedral. And such a tendency did appear. With the restoration of the cathedral we do not simply revive one of the most remarkable creations of the human genius, but also resurrect the historical memory of the people. And it is already time to make the transition from words to deeds since it is according to them that our descendants will judge us.

This always correct thought, I note, also runs through Oles Gonchar's novel. "Sobor" delicately and unobtrusively awakens in a man the feeling of his own dignity and the realization of himself. When the emigrant Volodka Loboda, in his criminal plans against the cathedral, tried to enlist the support of the old worker and heroine of the first five-year plans Shpachikha, he received the following reply: "To meet the desires of the workers? So that then everything is dumped on us? This will not be, Volodimir!" she said triumphantly, as if under oath. "Don't wait for my consent to this!" Shpachikha—that is who must be the measure of our conscience and responsibility. And frequently, significantly more frequently than necessary, are concerned about what the foreign public thinks about us. Not long ago, a group of Ukrainian scientists came out in the pages of LITERATURNAYA UKRAINA with an article on the occasion of the glaring violation of the Law on the Preservation and Use of Monuments of History and Culture, which were permitted in the prohibited

territory of the former Bratskiy Monastery and the Kievo-Mogilanskaya Academy. During the digging of the foundation ditch under the new building, a part of the cemetery of the 17th-18th centuries was destroyed here. The article was correct, but in it the authors did not resist the temptation of citing the support of "progressive circles of foreign countries." It seems, such citations are a relapse of the same window-dressing, but perhaps a manifestation of our inferiority complex. It would seem, we are restructuring and we are showing concern for the monuments of the past only in order for us to receive praise there. . . .

Such thoughts arise during the reading of Oles Gonchar's novel "Sobor," which, thanks to ROMAN-GAZETA, has come into the hands of the Russian reader in the perfect translation of Izida Novoseltseva. I am convinced that its clear and life-affirming force will find a good response.

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#### **Soldier Advocates Wider Employment of Belorussian Language**

18000229 [Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSIYA in Russian on 19 January carries on page 3 a 200-word letter from E. Saleychuk, a soldier who is serving his tour of duty in Czechoslovakia. Saleychuk declares his love for his native Belorussian language but says that he does not know it very well because of "lack of practice." "Lately, Belorussians use Belorussian very little, preferring to express themselves in Russian," he claims.

E. Saleychuk adds: "if you attempt to address a store clerk in Belorussian, she'll stare at you like you're crazy; on the contrary, if you speak the local vernacular in any of the Baltic Republics, this is accepted as normal."

Saleychuk would like to see a broader usage of the Belorussian language in general: "...there shouldn't be any embarrassment attached to Belorussian labelling on consumer goods and food stuff packaging." He concludes by suggesting that it would be useful for parents to begin conversing in Belorussian with their children from an early age.

**Izvestiya Discusses Homelessness, Vagrancy**  
18000219 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Albert Plutnik: "Bomzh"]

[Text] First of all, a few words about how someone named Maslov happened to come to the Khaydarov's house. Not by giving his own consent to that, but neither was it against his will.

At twilight, when Murtazakul Khaydarov was coming home from work, some teenagers were frantically beating someone near the produce market. When Khaydarov noticed that, he began running there, to protect the person. The hooligans ran off in all directions, but the person who had been beaten was still lying in the dirt: he was unconscious. Khaydarov lifted him up and took him home with him. There is no hospital in the village, and as for taking him to Pskent or Almalyk, who knows what might happen on the way?

Murtazakul's son helped him to put the person onto a soft mattress, and in the lamplight they saw that he was elderly, he had gray stubble on his cheeks, he was thin, and was dressed like a beggar. Sticking out of his belt was a bottle of port wine. (It later became known that this was what the young competitors had been trying to take away from him, but the owner had been ready to defend his treasure even if it cost him his life.)

Did Khaydarov have any idea then that the person whom he had brought home would stay there not just for the evening, or even not just for a week, but for years? That he would stay there from November 1982 through September 1986? Or rather, through 24 September, when he would suddenly disappear without a trace.

Why hadn't that person immediately gone back home as soon as he regained consciousness, recuperated, and got stronger? Why hadn't he seen that, even without him, there were too many people living there — the family has ten children, from year-old Nargiza to 20-year-old Shakhodat, who already has her own children. At first Murtazakul himself did not understand why the man was in no hurry to depart. He would ask him, "How can you stay here, Dad, without any of your near and dear ones knowing about it?" If a person has disappeared, you would think that people would exhaust themselves looking for him. In response to these questions, Petr Gerasimovich Maslov — for that was what he said his name was — said that no one was running his legs off looking for him. He did not have anyone to do that. He did not have a wife — she had died. As for his son, maybe he was still alive or maybe he wasn't. For a long time the relations between them had been such that each worried only about himself. Murtazakul would listen cautiously: how much of this was truth, and how much was lies? He told Maslov, "But certainly people must be looking for you at work. If you go back there after a break like this,

and especially if you do not have any document from a physician, they will think that you have been absent without authorization. Or are you retired?" (The date 1921 was tattooed on Maslov's right hand, apparently designating his year of birth, so he ought to be of retirement age.) Petr Gerasimovich, giving them something to be surprised at, would answer that he was not retired. As for working, well, he did not work, that is, he was not formally registered at any personnel department. "But where do you live, at least?" Murtazakul would ask. And Maslov would answer, "Wherever I can."

When Petr Gerasimovich disappeared (he said that he was going to Tashkent to visit his wife's grave, and promised to be home by evening, but it was as if he had vanished into thin air), the alarmed Khaydarov attempted to make inquiries — he made them at the police station and at the morgue, and each time it turned out that the person he was seeking was unknown to them. They would ask him, "What's his relationship to you? Are you related? Do you have any of his documents? Have you actually seen any of them?" Khaydarov could not say anything reliable. He had not seen even a single document of Maslov's. Maslov had never shown them. He said that he had lost them. Khaydarov did not even know whether "Maslov" was the person's real name, or a fictitious one.

Later on, I made inquiries at the information center of UzSSR MVD, in the attempt to find out whether the name Petr Gerasimov Maslov was included among those who were being sought by criminal-investigative agencies, or those who had already fallen outside the field of vision of the internal affairs agencies. Yes, the name was there. Maslov, Russian, citizen of the USSR, arrested for the first time in the city of Margilan, Fergana Oblast on 18 April 1971. Sentenced to one year of incarceration. On 15 November 1977 detained for vagrancy. Was issued a warning and signed a written promise that he would get a job by a certain deadline. He failed to do so — less than a year passed before he was detained once again, this time in Tashkent — once again for vagrancy. A half-year later he showed up at Khavast station, Syr-Darya Oblast. This time, as a result of the previous warnings, the vagrant was again sentenced to one year of corrective labor.

Who, then, was this Maslov? To what social group or segment did he belong? He was not an "odd-jobber," working on contract, with a temporary pass in whatever places he happened to arrive at for "a temporary stop-over." He was a vagrant living first here, then there. He did not live at home, but with casual strangers. He was a retiree, but he had not earned retirement rights. The father of a family, but he had broken with his family. He had left one family, but failed to become part of another. He was a bum. A *bomzh* (acronym: without a definite place of residence). He was a *hoz* (acronym: without a definite occupation), without anything definite in life. Neither more nor less than a lumpen-proletarian of our days, a kind of declassé element that had been left

behind by a train that left long ago. But exactly what kind of status is that — the status of vagrant? Is it permanent or temporary? Is it easy, after a person, for various reasons, has lost all kinds of definiteness, for him to reacquire it — whether old or new?

Having found himself in Khaydarov's home, Maslov did not sit around with his arms folded when the older family members went to work and the younger ones went to school or kindergarten. He also worked. And he really worked up a storm. "I would come home at night and the water pipe would be fixed," Murtazakul said. "And I don't know how many plumbers had already tried to fix it and had been unable to do so. But Dad could." It turned out that he was a jack of all trades. He and Khaydarov would go to the market and get tools — a hacksaw, a plane, a chisel... Then the work would go into full swing. He put in a new floor in the kitchen. He built a garage in the courtyard. He fixed up a sauna. He plastered the walls and built an oven. It was as though he did not have a single hour's rest! But, on the other hand, what kind of work was that? Work for whom? Work done for hire?

In our part of the country there is a phenomenon that is strange and unexpected for our time. Some enterprising residents — as well as certain heads of households — hire people such as Maslov who are jacks of all trades, taking advantage of the fact that the people like Maslov constitute, so to speak, a reserve labor army — unusually cheap manpower. And it is precisely those people that we are talking about — the vagrants, the new nomads of the twentieth century. They actually agree to work for the "boss" in exchange for meager payment — as long as they get three squares and a bottle of cheap wine a day. It is immaterial to them what they do or where — on a melon field, on onion fields, at a construction site. People who have fallen down on their luck, people who do not know their own worth, and who no longer even want to know it. But Maslov seemed to be different. Although something strange was also happening to him. It was as though he was not being paid, but that he was doing the paying. Moreover, it was at a lavish rate. By making a contribution from morning to evening, by paying with his labor for the most modest sleeping area — a bunk in a shed with a dirt floor (true, the shed had a hot plate he could do his cooking on), plus three meals a day. Even if he wanted to, he could not hope for anything better in a family with as many children as this. But it seemed to be quite enough for him. Otherwise, why would he have worked so eagerly, so diligently for his "boss," without worrying about himself? Moreover, he never accepted any money from the Khaydarovs, regardless of how much they offered. True, he would work for other bosses if time permitted, and then it would be for money. Incidentally, he could have settled down at other work sites too — having a skilled workman "in our very own yard" is a dream that many people have — but for some reason this courtyard captivated him, and it was apparently here that he could make very nice earnings whenever he felt like working.

When "Dad" disappeared, it was something unexpected, something illogical for Khaydarov. The children had become attached to him, as he had to the children. They would bring books from the school library to him. He would read to them and tell them stories. And so, imperceptibly, word by word, they learned Russian, and Maslov learned Uzbek. He called Nargiza, the youngest girl, "my little pugnose." He especially loved her and Yarkin, who was a bit older. Everything seemed to indicate that he liked living there, and that is why he became a homebody. Perhaps he went outside the gate so infrequently because he was hiding from someone? Was he in hiding?

Now Khaydarov recalled that Maslov had borne a grudge against his past life and against himself: he did not like himself and did not take care of himself. Twice while he had been living in Kerauchi, the village had been hit by two natural disasters — first a mud flow, then a flood — and both times, although all the inhabitants had previously been evacuated, Dad had absolutely refused to leave: "I'll die and that's it! Who needs me?" Then, at the peak moment of the disaster, Murtazakul (who was a member of the flood control headquarters) found the opportunity to visit Maslov. Maslov was absolutely calm and was whistling something in the courtyard. And this was although, right close by, streams of water and mud were raging everywhere, knocking over buildings, uprooting trees, and picking up concrete slabs as though they were paper boats. But the raging storm did not even touch the garden plot on which the Khaydarovs' house stood.

Murtazakul advised Maslov: "You've got to go back home to your son. Forgive him if he is guilty, and he will definitely forgive you if you are guilty. How can a person not forgive his old father?" "Father" always frowned during these discussions, and said, "If I haven't been needed for so long, why am I so needed now?" So he said that he would be pleased to go anywhere at all — back to his hometown, to Saratov, to the Volga. Murtazakul warmly approved, saying, "Yes, go there, and look for any traces of your kinfolk." He insisted that Maslov buy a ticket at the advance ticket-sale office and then he noticed Maslov waiting anxiously. "Would you want me to go with you, Father?" But it turned out that the train left without them.

At that time Khaydarov was summoned to Pskent, to see the investigator. He had to give a long explanation of the circumstances linked with his first, and then his second infraction of the law. At that time he was working as the manager of a cotton-acceptance station. A long sequence of cases dealing with cotton was beginning — numerous ones involving many people. And with regard to those in which he was involved, the dock proved to be a long one, and the periods of time varied from those close to the maximum ones to those which he had received, which, by comparison, seemed to be just a trifle: two years of corrective labor at the workplace, without any incarceration, and with the deduction of 20 percent of wages, to be



paid to the state. Both times, in essence, Khaydarov had been done in by one and the same thing: by what is generally called executive efficiency, or official discipline. He had done what was required of him by his direct management, and as a result had become an unwilling accessory to other people's malfeasances. It was proven that these were specifically other people's malfeasances, and that in neither situation had Khaydarov misappropriated a single ruble.

We might recall that Maslov had been convicted twice. The first time was for stealing government property. As is obvious from the sentence, the theft was not in any particularly large amounts, but rather in what would seem to be particularly small ones. Having lost his head from hunger, he had grabbed off a shelf something that was not well protected there. He had run off with it, and they had caught up with him.

The signed statement that he would not leave the area prevented Khaydarov from accompanying his "father." Maslov, by himself, managed to get only as far as the train station. While he was waiting for the train, he looked into the snack bar...

Murtazakul's daughter ran over to where he was working and said, "Father has returned." Putting everything else aside, he rushed home and shouted as he entered the gate, "Father, where are you?" He was surprised that Maslov did not come out to greet him — he was in no hurry to embrace him joyously. As he entered the shed, he immediately understood what the matter was. He approached the almost lifeless body and embraced his father. "Don't worry about it. Anything can happen... But why aren't you saying anything..." The former Maslov did not exist any more. Now he was a half-paralyzed invalid — he could not use his right leg or arm. Once again, as had happened at their first meeting, he could not utter a single word. But at that time he was unconscious. What was the problem now?

What had happened to Maslov after he had left home can be judged from the case history that I became acquainted with in the city of Almalyk, at the psycho-neurological dispensary. It was there that Petr Gerasimovich had been sent on 24 September 1986 by a vehicle that happened to be going in that direction, that had picked him up off the road where he had fallen paralyzed.

When he came to, he would be able to feel more and more painfully his new position, especially the muteness that had befallen him, and with all his strength he would attempt to overcome it. But the only thing that the physicians would be able to elicit from him, essentially speaking by touch, asking him men's names one after another ("Is your name Ivan?... Nikolay?... Stepan?...") was his name (he was not even capable of writing it). He would shake his head repeatedly until finally, when asked "Petr?", he would break out into a joyous smile, and try to pronounce the sounds that his condition

allowed him to: "Vo, vo..." Then (and to this very day) this was the only way that he would express his joy, his satisfaction, his consent, and many other feelings... But the name that had been guessed did not really add much to what the people at the dispensary knew about him. The case record listed, instead of a last name, "Unknown."

The people at the hospital kept waiting, expecting from day to day that someone would come to see him — perhaps a relative, or a close friend, or maybe even a distant one, such as, for example, his "boss." It just could not be that a person did not have anyone. A person always has someone. So certainly someone would show up. But where was he? Time went by, and Maslov, unclaimed by anyone, continued to be called "Unknown." An unknown, immoveable object.

He was recognized early in the spring, in March. The patients were sitting in the courtyard, and a certain woman, a neighbor of Khaydarov's, recognized a familiar face. The next day he was put in an ambulance and sent to Kerauchi. With the blessing of chief physician A. Aripova, the delivery was made by S. Azalkhanov, chief of the neurological department. "The doctor delivered 'Dad' at the gate, and told me, 'Take good care of him.' Then he left." I was told by 16-year-old Zarofat, who was at home with her younger sisters. They had been spared. Why, is easier to understand than anything else: but why had they kept him for so long at the clinic — a half a year? They simply did not know where to put him. Should they put him in a nursing home for the elderly, but who was he? A man off the street? Moreover, who would take him? They wouldn't even have admitted him at the hospital (as would be the case in the future, when Khaydarov would appeal to the central rayon hospital in Pskent), if he had not fallen down in the street. There are no extra places in hospitals or nursing homes. Consequently, it is necessary to give the preference to certain people.

"Bum" L. Kiriyenko (see IZVESTIYA, No 41, 1988) was right — we do have homeless people among us. Wouldn't it be a good thing if there were only a very tiny number of them. But one can see behind the figures a tendency toward growth, and this is the thing that is most alarming. There are more and more "individual cases." If all of them are somebody else's, how can it be that it is nobody's problem? And where are so many of them coming from during these prosperous days?

As we get closer to the winter, they leave like migratory birds and are drawn to the south — it is warm there and it is easier to find food. Others, as they migrate, maintain a course that heads directly for the Tashkent acceptance and assignment, converging there truly from all sections of the country. It is as though they give themselves up. There is not even any need to catch them. They give themselves a month of vacation — as many as can be kept — until their identity is established. For that period of time they have a guaranteed roof over their head and

free meals. Then they are all chased away — to all points of the compass. State "chow" is not issued to maintain spongers. Here, at the lower depths, I met a "romantic" who at one time had been obsessed by the dream of visiting the most exotic places and subsequently had started on his path, but, imperceptibly for himself, had become just an ordinary drunkard. I met a proud man who had left his home, slamming the door behind him, as soon as he had learned that his wife had been unfaithful. I met a former chief technologist who had lost his faith in justice. I met here a large number of absolutely healthy and completely ill people. I met an unforgettable old woman who had crossed the threshold of her own home many, many years ago and who had forgotten how to find her way back to it. I met an abnormal spinster who imagined herself to be a deposed queen, who then had been forced, like the Shah of Iran, to travel around the world in search of asylum. And, finally, I met an emaciated man — I cannot remember whether he was from Vologda or Khabarovsk — who kept coughing his lungs out, day and night. All of them, sick and healthy, had settled down, obviously, not in private rooms, but in open wards — on the hard wooden floor where people sleep side by side.

What is to be done with them? Where can we put them, if the hospitals disown them, if the nursing homes beat them off, although the police, with professional coolheadedness, keep trying repeatedly to provide service for them. But the answer that is heard in response to their inquiries is: "In conformity with the situation that pertains, the republic's nursing homes accept handicapped individuals in Groups I and II and citizens of retirement age who have a permit to reside permanently on the territory of the republic." The statement is from the UzSSR Ministry of Social Security. But where is a vagrant supposed to get a permanent residence permit? Most of the vagrants who are detained here have come here from other parts of the country. What should be done with them? Or with the local ones? Here? In the RSFSR, Kazakhstan — everywhere? And what should they do?

Who will do the permanent registration? Who will provide housing? Or will we count on Khaydarov and people like him? And yet, in this instance, the internal-passport system has been violated in the crudest manner — an outsider has lived so long without a permanent residence permit, without documents. Many years will pass before Murtazakul will discover in the mattress the internal passport that Maslov had hidden there — an internal passport issued in 1978 by the Khamzinskiy Rayon police department in Tashkent. Then, having discovered the document, he will want to do everything legally: since he's living here, he must be registered. But if no one is required to do anything for lost people, then will there be many people who will do something anyway? In Pskent, at the internal passport department, they will drag out the matter with the permanent residence permit for a long time, and will do everything in five

minutes only after our newspaper intervenes. And, once again, the determination as to Maslov's medical treatment will be made only after the editorial office intervenes.

Suddenly it turns out that society, which has always encouraged its prodigal children to return to normal existence, in far from all instances makes any real attempt to promote this. Whereas previously they voluntarily deprived themselves of many rights that are guaranteed in our society to everyone — the right to work, to have housing, to have social security — now, as the expression goes, let people just try to have their lost guarantees returned to them. Will they be successful?

In Tashkent there is a list of enterprises that has been approved by the city authorities. Those enterprises provide jobs to those persons who are sent to them from the acceptance and assignment center. That list consists of 27 plants, factories, and associations. The choice is large, but frequently it is only theoretically. I acquainted myself with the extensive correspondence that is conducted between the acceptance center and the local enterprises — they have been beating off the contingent of workers offered to them.

It is difficult to expect that a prodigal son or father will be given a reserved spot in a contract brigade or a collective operating under principles of cost accounting, or that they will be taken into a table of organization that, even without them, is being reduced. They will not take them, and this is natural. Wherever economic laws are in effect, those places have their own selection processes. It is for the benefit of you and me. But what are these people supposed to do — these people with a spotty reputation, people who, by virtue of that fact, have already lost their ability to compete?

Major-General of Militia E. Didorenko, UzSSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, told me that vagrants are a world of their own, a world which, despite assertions that are made, rarely comes into contact with the criminal world. Most often these people are weak and unfortunate individuals who, by virtue of a tragic turn of personal and social circumstances, have lost their social face. Many could return to normal life, but they require a "transitional period." It is necessary for them to undergo training, to learn how to adapt to the new situation, while remembering in all details normal life with its everyday cares and rules. But for the time being, as a result of the lack of mutual understanding and interaction among the departments that deal with the problem, the military, medical, and social-security departments, as well as the departments in charge of labor resources, not a single institution provides that adaptation.

And so it turns out that our story is not even about an unfortunate vagrant, but rather about a lucky one. Not because he is living well, but because other people like

him are living even worse. When life is at the mercy of chance, all hope is for personal luck, for a good person. Can this serve as a solid basis for the hopes of thousands and thousands of people?

And so, had Khaydarov taken a worker into his home? Usually, so far as I understand, those workers are hired from among the healthy and strong ones, rather than being picked up lifeless, all covered with dirt. Well, Maslov had nevertheless proven to be a worker, although it was rather as a result of the confluence of circumstances, to people's mutual advantage. Moreover, the payment in this instance had been immeasurably higher.

It is difficult to live when no one is required to do anything for you. But even when you are not required to do anything for anyone else, it is not any easier.

And so, led by an innate instinct to the aroma of the household hearth, the homeless wretch holds tightly onto that place where he has sensed once again the need that apparently had been extinguished in him forever — the person's natural need for the closeness of dear ones — that place where he sensed once again that all had not been lost, once the attachment for people and the family had been revived, once other people had looked at him inquiringly and sympathetically.

Today, as never before, we talk a lot about charity and philanthropy. We attempt to return to people and to society the lost compassion for old people and people with handicaps, for orphans, for everyone who needs our kindness and our sacrifices more than anyone else. The vagrant is among these people. He is no one. He is simply a person who frequently has chopped away his own roots. A meteorite fragment that has chipped away from another planet and that, by the game of dark forces, has turned up in our confines... It would be the easiest thing to renounce him. To recognize in him a voluntarily declassé person, to censure him with a cold and uncompromising rightfulness — an idler who is shirking socially beneficial labor, a tumbleweed.

And we should censure him. Firmly and unambiguously. Society must be merciful, but there is also — and this happens more frequently — another fault: the fault of man before society. That fault occurs in almost every instance when we are dealing with a vagrant.

We must talk about the vagrant just as loudly and openly as we have talked about drunkards and narcotics addicts. He too is a social evil, our new unexpected social problem. That problem ought not to exist, but it does exist. We must speak openly about it. We must open our eyes to it. We must admit that this misfortune has not bypassed us. Consequently, we must study it and its roots, its scope, its consequences. We must think about preventive measures. We must indicate where the vagrant's path inevitably leads him — to the degeneration of the individual, to a life that is unworthy of man. We must dig down deep in order to discover why he

leaves, we must evaluate in a new way the role of the family, since it is already obvious today that the destruction, the degradation of the family as an institution is the chief source for bringing new replacements into the horde of "bomzhes." There is something else that is obvious: it is only the family, people who are close to you, only a home, in its true meaning as the asylum of the soul, that are capable of stopping this self-torturing existence of the vagrant, of returning the citizen to society, and the father, brother, and husband to the family.

Renunciation is the easiest thing to do. But everyone is needed. It is more difficult to assimilate this. A person on the skids is also a person. Moreover, so long as a person is alive, no one is on the skids forever.

"Maybe his son is waiting, but how can I know that... There is only one thing that I know about my own father — that he died in the war. How I always wanted to know more about him — how he lived and fought, where he died and where he is buried. Finally I found out — Kuchkar Khaydarov was buried in the city of Madona, Latvian SSR, on 7 August 1944. Five years ago I was there. I saw the memorial and the communal grave. If people who have been killed during the war have to be buried in a communal grave, then certainly the entire land should be consecrated as a grave... On the obelisk I found my father's name... Maslov was also a front-liner."

He had been an artilleryman. He had been awarded the Order of the Red Star, and two "In Recognition of Valor" medals.

Upon my return from assignment, I telephoned our correspondent for Saratov Oblast, Valentina Nikolayeva. I asked her to try to find Maslov's relatives. We did not count on having any success. But when the material was prepared for the press, the telephone rang. It was someone calling from the city of Engels: "Hello. My name is Vasily Maslov. I am Petr Gerasimovich's son." For a long time he thanked us for having located his family. The son is 32 years old. The last time he had seen his father was when he was 13 years old. "Tomorrow I'll take some time off and I'll fly to get him. We'll cure him..."

5075

#### **Militiamen Deal With Mishandling of Radioactive Substances**

18000205a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by N. Savelyev, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent in Krasnoyarsk: "A Special Case: A Source of Danger"]

[Text] On 10 November — Soviet Militia Day — Svetlana Aleksandrovna Anufriyenko, a senior inspector with the Krasnoyarsk Gornispolkom's Internal Affairs



Administration, opened a new case. Her holiday mood faded as she began reading the contents of the slim file. She had never had a case like this in her nine years of service in internal affairs organs. It was unlikely that her colleagues with 20 or 30 years of service behind them could help her: they had never indicted anyone under the section of Article 217 of the RSFSR Criminal Code which deals with penalties for violations of the regulations and standards pertaining to the storage of radioactive substances.

The commotion began at that moment, and it peaked when a group equipped with Geiger counters appeared in the courtyard of School No 68. Classes were dismissed and all approaches barricaded; a short time later an ampoule containing a radioactive element was unearthed. The city could not immediately be convinced that the tiny (14 millimeters) ampoule had had absolutely no harmful effect. Only after reassuring articles were published in the kray press did the commotion subside. The school had been very fortunate: the object had not fallen into the hands of curious children, remaining instead in the ground, hermetically sealed. In the days that followed similar ampoules were quietly found and removed from the grounds of a combined fodder plant and a wood processing plant. Once again, luck was with the city's residents — the ampoules were intact. Their deadly radiation had not escaped.

Ten days after the investigation began I interviewed the senior investigator. The files, which she produced from a safe, were still as slim as ever. The investigator did not attempt to conceal either the complexity or the unusual nature of the task facing her. All speculation concerning possible owners of the ampoules had gone nowhere and seemed about as useful as reading tea leaves. The only clear lead related to the ampoule found at the wood processing plant, where at one time shipments of imported machinery containing radiation sources had been received. Most likely carelessness had been the reason that those radiation sources were disposed of outside of the shop. The case of ampoule No 201 — the one found in the schoolyard — was more complicated: it was a source from a radioisotope device. Such sources (which are quite harmless, as long as proper handling procedure is followed) are so widely used in the economy today that it would probably be easier to list those enterprises at which they are not present.

"There are plenty of puzzles remaining," said Svetlana Aleksandrovna. "And that is not surprising. Up until 1980 radiation sources were shipped to enterprises essentially without any notification of either the sanitary and epidemiological station or the militia. There was no strict monitoring or directives to ensure that they were handled safely. Previously there was also no one responsible for seeing that monitoring was carried out. It is possible that the ampoules we found were shipped to enterprises 10 or even 20 years ago. The experts are trying to give us an answer, but I do not know what they

will come up with. Currently, at least, neither the engineers of Installation and Setup Section No 85 nor representatives of the interblast office of Izotop, which jointly supervise the installation of these ampoules, can tell us on the basis of the serial number who the consumer was, and hence who is responsible for the incident at the school."

The staff of the krayispolkom's internal affairs administration were also of little help. Staff reductions have taken their toll on that organization. Now the responsibilities of five staff inspectors have all been placed on senior inspector A. V. Shklyayev. He is the one who, in addition to monitoring toxic substances and firearms, is also responsible for radioactive substances. The experience and knowledge which he has garnered over the years are of little use. As he himself is forced to admit, it has not proven possible to monitor all radiation sources properly.

"Monitoring should be the responsibility of the kray sanitary and epidemiological station, and of plant administrators. That is their direct obligation. There is a reference to that in this booklet," said Anatoliy Vasilyevich, turning to the appropriate page in a booklet entitled "Radiation Safety Standards" and reading aloud: "Responsibility for compliance with radiation safety standards lies with administrators and ministry officials."

My journalistic search for those responsible for the storage and use of radioactive substances was in the home stretch. I thought as I left the krayispolkom internal affairs administration building. But I was wrong.

"The subject of radioactive substances," I was told by A. N. Parfenova, head of the radiological section of the kray sanitary and epidemiological station, "was for a long time completely closed. That led to completely absurd rumors. The majority of enterprise administrators do not have basic knowledge of radioactive substances or their possible effects. When our experts tell them that several grams of these substances can, if improperly handled, cause tragedy for dozens and hundreds of people, we can sense their disbelief. As if we were painting an overly gloomy picture. True, Chernobyl produced quite a shock, and after that happened the big bosses began taking a more sympathetic attitude toward our work. Now we have modern equipment and devices for measuring radiation. But at the enterprises themselves the situation is unfortunately much worse. The level of specialized knowledge there is extremely low. I will give you a couple of recent examples. At one of our city's large plants — a television plant — I talked with a safety equipment engineer whose duty it is to monitor radioisotope devices. As we talked I realized that the engineer had no knowledge of such matters. I asked about his education. He replied that he had higher education, and added proudly that it was in library science. This is by no means the only example of enterprises playing with fire. Or another case: at one

plant an ampoule and its container turned up missing. We told the plant director, who merely shrugged. We went to the rayispolkom chairman and complained. The chairman picked up the phone and gave the director a dressing down: "What's going on over there, if containers full of radioactive substances can be carried out the gate without you seeing them? What's your security staff doing?" The chairman was unaware that the container and ampoule together weigh just two grams and could be carried out in a pocket. They are ignorant both of radiation safety standards and of their own direct obligations. And our research data tell the story best of all."

Endless pages of thick accounts and summaries were reviewed, and the radiological section was assigned to present the final results of the study to the various authorities by the beginning of spring. Those findings included stories which, despite carelessness, ignorance and sloppiness, have not yet resulted in tragedy, but which are unlikely to have "happy endings," either. On New Year's Eve a truck stopped near a grocery store in a small city. The driver and a passenger went inside for a few minutes to warm up. When they came out they gasped in surprise: the truck was gone. The little city was engrossed in celebration that night, but a few people had skipped the merrymaking and festivities. Subsequent events in the search for the truck and, more importantly, for the radioactive ampoules which it contained, were reminiscent of the plot of a detective novel.

Eyewitnesses recounted to me the events which occurred at School No 68. Representatives of civil defense and soviet organs spoke before a packed audience. The mood in the auditorium grew tense, and many parents demanded that their children be checked for radiation and insisted that the food in the school cafeteria be destroyed, or even that the school be closed. The best that the numerous representatives could do to calm down the parents was to make statements like these: "Look, I held the ampoule in my hand, and I'm still alive. And your children were not even near it, because it was in the ground." There is no telling how the meeting would have ended if Aleksandra Nikolayevna Parfenova, who brought along the booklet "Radiation Safety Standards" and listed the stores where it could be bought, had not clearly and simply explained both about the ampoule and about the favorable level of background radiation in the city. True, even so she did not completely calm the turmoil. After the meeting some parents still came forward and requested that their children be checked for radiation. Most surprisingly, among them were physicians and administrators, who should have known the elementary facts. But they did not know.

"We should not delude ourselves about the public's knowledge," I was told by L.V. Pankratov, senior sanitary physician in the radiological section of the kray sanitary and epidemiological station. "What does it say about administrators and general physicians if, even after I received my specialized degree from a medical institute, I did not know probably one-half of what I

should have known? The lectures presented are vague and without connection to real life. It is good that Aleksandra Nikolayevna taught and showed and told the way she did. The picture which I have seen in this city is not very reassuring. All imported equipment containing radiation sources is delivered directly to enterprises, bypassing the sanitary and epidemiological station. I could count on my fingers the administrators who are in full compliance with radiation safety standards. Now, after all this commotion, we are witnessing absurd actions. All radioactive substances are being turned in. For example, specialists from the polytechnical institute brought us broken instruments and asked us to dispose of them. It turned out that they were simply scared. But instead of learning how to properly use radioactive substances and observe radiation safety standards, now they are trying to put as much distance between themselves and radioactive substances as they can."

One month after the criminal investigation was opened neither the senior inspector nor experts could name the specific owners of the lost ampoules. Nor do I know the names of those administrators. But the principal guilty party in these events is known. His name is carelessness. Unfortunately, many enterprises in our city are still using radioactive substances without proper monitoring. And their administrators are not familiar with radiation safety standards or with the construction and operating principles of the radioisotope devices present at their enterprises. Ignorance gives rise not only to fear, but can also lead to tragedy. We feel that the appropriate organs should give us an explanation of the events which have occurred and also take immediate steps to rectify this situation.

12825

### Causes of Female Suicide Attempts in Uzbekistan Engender Concern

#### Social Tradition Seen As Cause

18300136 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
6 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by E. Gafarov, head of the Burn Center of Samarkand City Hospital No. 1 and candidate of medical sciences: "The Fateful Lot of Women"]

[Excerpts] The following article was published in the 3 January issue of the Samarkand Oblast newspaper LENINSKIY PUT. We bring it to the attention of our readers in view of the urgent nature of the problem it raises for the entire republic.

On the day that LENINSKIY PUT published an article entitled "I Didn't Want to Die...", Muzaffar Dzhabbarova, age 20, from Bagizagan Sovkhos in Samarkandskiy Rayon, was delivered to the Burn Center of City Hospital No. 1. As this unfortunate woman managed to tell us, she was "simply tired of living." After bearing four

children, one after another, the young mother was virtually torn to pieces. Night and day she knew no peace, for there was no one but her to care for her little ones while she took care of the house and the household. There came a time when she decided upon self-immolation in flames as a saving deliverance from this unbearable burden.

As a doctor, I write these lines with bitterness because there is nothing more dreadful from our standpoint than to see the frightful and inhuman sufferings of a young woman without being able to do anything to help her.

My experience of many years in the Burn Center enables me to reach certain conclusions with respect to which a shameful silence has been maintained until very recently both by the press and by party organs—yes, and by us, the doctors, who have been able to speak aloud far from everything that troubles us.

What must be done so that women, particularly those in rural areas, may feel themselves to have genuinely equal rights as members of their families and society? In the first place, it seems to me, public opinion must be raised to a proper level, so that each instance of an attempt on one's own life results in immediate exposure and social censure of the persons responsible. In this connection efforts are required not only on the part of party organs, law enforcement agencies, and medical personnel, but village soviets, makhallya committees, and women's conferences. I think the press, as well as the radio network serving kolkhozes and sovkhozes, should become more active at the oblast and rayon level. Public opinion is a major force. It can raise a person to the height that he deserves. But it can also kill. Are we really unaware of what goes on in some makhallyas? A young woman is wed. She is delivered to her bridegroom in another village. And God help her, as the saying goes, if she fails to bring with her the dowry that her mother-in-law is counting on. Of course, she nags, she pesters, and will give her no peace. And the makhallya, under the very best of conditions, will preserve an indifferent silence, but often adds fuel to the flames by taunting the "5-kopek" bride and following her every step with sidelong glances and malicious gossip. That is when it is still not too late for all activists to come to the defense of her honor—to have a talk with the husband and the mother-in-law and to give the young woman protection. Why is it that many of the cases in the prosecutor's office associated with such suicides are closed because of a lack of "elements of a crime"? It is, they tell us, because no deposition is made by these unfortunate women. Most of them bear their cross submissively in silence, hoping until the very last moment to remain alive, and thinking, of course: How are they going to go on living with their husband and mother-in-law if they complain about them? So it happens, as the article in LENINSKIY PUT said, that all the responsible officials continue to wait for declarations from would-be suicides, yet have no desire to go to call on the young families. For the komsomol committees it is likewise a matter of indifference as to

what may have happened to former female activists of the komsomol. Did they go on to study? Are they working? And if they are not working, why, and how are things at home with their new kinfolk? Suddenly, when a woman who has doused herself with kerosene is transformed into a torch, the makhallya receives a shock, and everyone comes to his senses. Indeed, it is late. And sometimes it is too late.

Let me return, however, to the purely medical aspects of this problem. With respect to having many children, the time has come to speak for all to hear of the other side of the coin. Until recently at various conferences we have been in the habit of proposing toasts in honor of women who have many children without taking the trouble to analyze: In what state of health are these women and their offspring? What are the conditions of family life? What is the standard of living? The results, in fact, turn out to be as follows: The average number of children per family is between seven and eight in our region, whereas it is between one and two children per family in the USSR as a whole. In actual practice, as I have already indicated, a woman gives birth to a child almost every year. This leads to untimely organic deterioration, frequent illness, and exhaustion of the nervous system. There are also psychological disturbances that develop under these conditions. Often these women and their progeny in turn give birth to premature, sickly, and anemic infants. Medical practice has established that childbearing at intervals of from three to four years may be considered physiologically normal; only under these conditions will births be normal and the mother and child be healthy. Every young couple should be aware of this principle and strictly abide by it.

Where can a young couple get such information? In the registry office, in an out-patient clinic, or in consultation with a doctor. If we are to believe reports of party raykoms and gorkoms, public education facilities for young mothers are now being developed and consultations with specialists organized. In almost every rayon some sort of college of home economics is in operation. But then again, all this may be only on paper. When we talk with some young mothers, we are simply dumbfounded, encountering the utmost ignorance of medicine compounded by the observance of certain canons of the shariat (according to Muslim custom, it is necessary to bear as many children as Allah sends), and this constitutes one of the reasons for women burning themselves to death. It is a good thing that lessons have recently been introduced in the schools to familiarize members of the senior classes with the ethics and psychology of family life. But it is extremely inadequate. And the so-called "frank" conversations of medical personnel in the schools have not achieved the proper results. They are infrequent; and basically they come down to threats of becoming pregnant and infected with venereal disease. Children and, later, teenagers progress in their sexual development by a complex process; for they must acquire habit patterns of moral behavior in relations between the sexes. The physiological changes affecting



young women as they come of age should not be confusing to them. Since mothers and class supervisors do not always initiate them into these "secrets," however, we doctors occasionally encounter real psychological disorders in this connection. As for boys, while still in school they should be trained to become men and future heads of a family—caring, attentive, and affectionate husbands. Traditional feudalistic ways do not suddenly manifest themselves in this day and age, after 70 years of Soviet power, unexpectedly. In embryonic form they manifest themselves early and, unfortunately, are even deliberately cultivated in certain families where Islamic laws—the adat and shariat—are followed. Schools, teachers, and public opinion must succeed in nipping, as they say, these customs in the bud. And it is essential for us, the medical practitioners, to develop preventive health measures on a massive scale. Young as well as adult women must know everything necessary about marital hygiene and married life, and they must learn to use contraceptive pills. At the same time, propaganda is necessary among the men as well. Casting aside false modesty, the all-Union press, including KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, has long been dealing with this subject in print.

Patients show up at our Burn Center who have received burns from sandalwood. This is one more dismal remnant of the past. Is it really so difficult to install a normal stove in a house and heat it in a normal way—with coal or with firewood if natural gas is not available in the village? Yet many a kubitka is heated, as of old, "in the dark"; that is, a depression is made in the earthen floor in the center of the room, which is strewn with burning coals and covered by a blanket. Children left unattended crawl onto the coals and suffer severe burns in their extremities, heads, and faces. Occasional deaths occur, but those who survive are crippled as a rule. As a result of using sandalwood, sometimes entire families are poisoned by gas fumes, resulting also in dire consequences.

Such is the cultural level of our present way of life. And such is the nature of the truth—bitter, like most of our medicines, but necessary for us all.

#### **Uzbek Supreme Soviet Responds**

183/00136 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Jan 88 p 2

[Statement by the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet: "Concerning the Article 'The Fateful Lot of Women'"]

[Text] The Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet recognizes that the article entitled "The Fateful Lot of Women" by E. Gafarov, published originally in the Samarkand newspaper LENINSKIY PUT and reprinted by republic newspapers, raises issues of exceptional importance about which a policy not of glasnost but of silence has been maintained.

Every year in the republic there are scores of attempts on the part of women at self-immolation by fire, a number of which result in death. Those who are saved suffer severe mutilation—a burden to be borne by their relatives as well as themselves. A majority of the victims are young women under the age of 30, and many of them are girls not yet of mature age. Most of these attempts at self-immolation occur in Dzhizak, Samarkand, Kashkadarya, and Bukhara oblasts.

The UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium considers such a shameful occurrence intolerable and incompatible with socialist reality. It became possible as a result of a revival during a stagnant period, manifested by the Khudzhum Movement, among some of the population possessing a feudalistic psychology and ethics.

There are many families in the republic whose lives are based on ancient principles, tending to foster a traditionally feudalistic attitude towards women, denigration of their inherent worth, and unquestioning subservience to a husband and his blood relatives.

As the published article properly has emphasized, among the reasons for female suicide are exhausting physical labor together with an oppressive psychological atmosphere within the family, the roots of which originate in backward customs and traditions based upon the canons of the shariat. As a rule this tends to bring about a deprivation of the possibility of free choice on the part of a married woman; a compulsory marriage with a bride-price; an unjustifiably extravagant wedding, depleting the family budget and precluding the possibility in future of acquiring proper nourishment or the necessities of domestic life; as well as a disinclination on the part of the husband to undertake arduous or non-prestigious labor either at home or on the job, etc.

A significant proportion of the female population does not work in industrial production and finds itself in a situation that excludes women from social life without the support of labor collectives and social organizations.

The article, along with other published materials, raises the timely issue of the enormous physiological damage that is done to women as a result of the excessive number and excessive frequency of births, resulting in physical debilitation, and of the necessity of family planning. It has been correctly pointed out that medical education has been unsatisfactorily established in the republic. Many medical workers, finding themselves under the domination of outworn ideas and customs, do not explain to young families that the birth of infants at intervals of less than three or four years often leads to abnormalities in child development and constitutes one of the primary reasons for the prevalence of childhood diseases and high infant mortality as well as the death of women.

Instruction in the psychology and ethics of family life in the curriculums of schools for both general education and professional training has been ineffective. In many cases lessons are perfunctory, ill-prepared, and conducted by persons who are simply ignorant of these matters.

Law enforcement organs underestimate the social dangers of the behavior of people guilty of leading women to the point of burning themselves to death. The conditions and factors causing women to resort to such extreme measures are by no means always investigated, nor is the necessary preventive work being carried out. In most cases investigative organs decline to make a criminal case out of such an extraordinary occurrence. A review in the courts of a case of self-immolation is often conducted without proper conditions of glasnost, and it fails to provide for the sure punishment of those who, by their actions or influence, have contributed to the inevitable demise of the despairing woman. There are only isolated instances of criminal convictions for these crimes.

The soviets of people's deputies fail to take an active and aggressive stand in overcoming obsolete ways of life inimical to socialism, reflecting the rites and traditions of Islam. The deputies of the soviets, as well as independent organizations, often avoid taking part in opposing particular representatives of traditional feudalistic customs.

Public media, ministries and departments, and labor collectives have been devoting an extremely inadequate amount of attention to these problems.

In a decree adopted by the UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, it is recognized that the article "The Fateful Lot of Women" has raised an urgent problem now occurring in the family and social life of the republic.

It is recommended to the soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments, law enforcement organs, and social organizations of the republic that all required conditions be created for improving the cultural life of the population and shoring up the foundations of the socialist way of life, while eliminating vestiges of the patriarchal system.

Special attention is to be paid to achieving a balanced development of production together with the social sphere, including the unconditional fulfillment of tasks set for the housing construction program of the Uzbek SSR, for improving the labor conditions of women in industrial production, and for alleviating their domestic labor as a prerequisite to their further progress in political, social, and work activities.

The following instructions are given to UzSSR soviets of people's deputies:

To make arrangements for a broad discussion of issues raised by the article in question at executive committee meetings, and as required at working sessions of the soviets, at labor collective meetings, at village gatherings, in the makhallyas, and everywhere attempt to create a climate of social impatience with those who support vestiges of feudalistic domination, infringing upon the rights while denigrating the dignity of women;

To diligently strive to raise the standard of living, especially in rural areas; to improve health care services for mothers and infants; and to conduct an extensive campaign to explain to the population the necessity of prudent family planning as an essential condition for the physical and psychological well-being of future generations and for overcoming the intolerably high rate of illness and mortality among young children and women;

To increase the role of the permanent commissions of the soviets, of the deputies, of the makhallyas, of block committees, women's councils, comrade's courts, and independent social organizations in the effort to improve the health conditions of families; to take under consideration each instance of suicide or attempted suicide; to carry out preventive efforts wherever circumstances are unfavorable; and to deliver all persons behaving in a manner incompatible with the socialist way of life to the court of public opinion;

To make procedures more stringent with respect to examining requirements for legislation to protect women who work in industry, in coordination with trade union organizations.

It is recommended to the UzSSR Ministry of Health (Comrade Bakhramov) that it carry out, in joint cooperation with the Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, oblast executive committees, and the Tashkent gorispolkom, a series of practical measures designed to bring about a marked improvement in public health care facilities and the level of physical health.

Special attention is to be paid to a fundamental restructuring of medical education efforts, supported by propaganda for healthy living habits, accommodating the needs of young families for practical advice and recommendations, specifically with respect to questions of marital hygiene and family planning.

A republic-wide conference is scheduled to be held in Tashkent before 1 July to consider the tasks of the medical community for improving public health education efforts with respect to marital hygiene and family planning. It is considered expedient to conduct similar conferences in Kara-Kalpak ASSR and in the oblasts, cities, and rayons of the republic.

The UzSSR Ministry of Education (Comrade Abbasova) and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education (Comrade Dzhrayev) are charged with the task of raising the level of study programs teaching a

world view in republic schools and professional training institutions, and to facilitate the process of instilling in youth a positive rejection of religious and patriarchal views and customs, raising them in a spirit of high social and political principles.

Law enforcement organs in the republic are advised to stimulate efforts regarding public preventive medicine, particularly for disadvantaged families, while conducting expert and thorough criminal investigations into the facts surrounding suicides. Each judicial process concerned with matters pertaining to the causal factors of suicides by women is to be conducted with the participation of public accusers and under conditions of broad glasnost.

The UzSSR Ministry of Justice (Comrade Alimdzhonov) and the UzSSR Ministry of Health (Comrade Bakhramov) are charged with the task of establishing within a month a procedure for marriage registration to include delivery of written health instructions for young people, containing information necessary regarding matters of marital hygiene.

It is of the utmost importance for the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, together with the UzSSR ministries of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, of Health, and of Education, to stimulate study of conditions restricting further development of social and political activity by women which have a negative impact upon their social protection, and which tend to perpetuate regressive tendencies in family life as well as in the state of awareness among certain groups, and to work out a set of scientifically substantiated recommendations for overcoming these conditions.

The Uzbekistan Komsomol Central Committee is urged to direct its ideological and educational efforts among Komsomol members and youth more specifically at overcoming, once and for all, regressive traditions which tend to strengthen the inequality of women in the context of family life. It is further recommended to increase the participation of Komsomol organizations in making young families stronger, based on the mutual respect of spouses and a joint sense of responsibility for the health and well-being of their children.

The Commission for the Efficient Use of Labor Resources of the UzSSR Council of Ministers is charged with the task of expediting the resolution of problems associated with the projected demographic development of the republic until the year 2010, and to make recommendations for measures to implement intelligent family planning and to foster family concord and well-being.

Republic newspaper editorial staffs and the State Committee of the Council of Ministers for Television and Radio Broadcasting are urged to increase the number of publications, television shows, and radio broadcasts devoted to endorsing the mores of the socialist way of

life; overcoming backward customs and traditions, particularly with regard to the treatment of women; exposing specific persons representative of these outmoded traditions; and publicizing broadly judicial procedures for dealing with those who are culpable in bringing women to the point of suicide.

12889

### **Tajik Procuracy Polls Consumers on Unethical Trade Practices**

18300134 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 12 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by N. Kozlova: "Republic Procuracy Studied Public Opinion on Both Sides of the Counter"]

[Text] The questionnaire answered by both the consumers and the people employed in trade had 49 questions with almost each of them having several points and subpoints. The questions ranged from the most simple ("Are the work hours of stores convenient for you?") to such as "Do you think that it is fair that you are forced to overpay for State goods?" and "How do you assess the activity of law enforcement bodies in their struggle with abuses in trade?"

The main task of the public opinion analysis was to find the causes of violations in trade. In order to make the poll objective, residents of Dushanbe and Kulyale were divided into the following groups: laborers, office workers, students, and people employed in trade.

One of the first results of the poll is as follows: all groups of the population (including people working in trade) are subject to cheating during the purchase of industrial goods and food items. Everyone! However, to varying degrees. Among laborers, office workers, and students the percentage was the same: 90 percent, while only one-third, that is 30.7 percent, of the people employed in trade were being overcharged. To a certain degree this may be explained by the fact that people occupied in trade can buy a given product either at their workplace or from acquaintances.

Everybody knows that most often we overpay not simply for a product, but rather for a product in higher demand. The poll only confirmed that all polled groups overpay for deficit goods. However, to varying degrees: 28.5 percent of people in trade, 80 percent of office workers, 70 percent of laborers, and 60 percent of students, were overpaying for deficit goods.

The poll asked whether it is normal to overpay for deficit goods. This question is important since it examines the psychology of the buyers and sellers. The laborers, office workers, and students answered almost unanimously: it is unfair. At the same time, the majority of people employed in trade are sure that it is a normal phenomenon.



The absolute majority of buyers dislike those who bring them deficit goods. The answers of people employed in trade to this question are in striking contrast: more than one-half of them have good relations with people selling them overpriced goods. Even more, they do not see anything unusual in it because it is the usual practice. This clearly forms a basis for the fact that 92.4 percent of people employed in trade think that only few in their profession abuse their official status.

Interesting figures were obtained during the analysis of answers to the question: "What are the causes for abuses in trade?" Sixty percent of those employed in trade answered that the abuses are the result of incorrect selection of personnel. Among the other 3 groups of the population this percentage is more ambiguous, but twice as low. The office workers, laborers, and students are sure that the abuses are generated not only by deficiencies in personnel selection, but also by the existing faulted system in which trade department managers who distribute deficit goods demand payoffs for themselves. By the way, not a single person working in trade wrote about this practice. It is true, however, that 6.6 percent stressed the fact that conditions contributing to abuses do exist in trade.

Personnel selection is an aspect important to any branch of the national economy. However, the majority of those polled are sure that business-like qualities do not play any role when people are assigned to a position in trade. Only 25.3 percent of people occupied in trade think that for career advancement in trade one needs business-like qualities.

The poll showed that the public holds the opinion that in order to get a job in trade one must pay for it. This is the opinion of 50 percent of students, 55.6 percent of laborers, and 28 percent of office workers. Only 5.2 percent of those employed in trade confirmed this fact. Perhaps they decided to keep quiet about this fact. Perhaps they decided to keep quiet about the real situation.

The people employed in trade were not exactly truthful when they answered the question concerning the voluntary overpayments for deficit goods. The main body of laborers, workers, and students think that they must do it because the goods in demand cannot be freely bought in the stores. Those people polled who are employed in trade also overpay for deficit goods, but they have a different reason for it: it is better to overpay for a good product rather than to buy a product from local industries.

One of the reasons for violations in trade is a weak response on the part of the buyer. Why? Approximately 30 percent of those polled talk about the aggressiveness of the sales clerks, and almost the same number of people (27.1 percent) think that to speak out about the deficiencies will cost them even more. Forty percent of those polled are sure that their comment will not change anything and the situation will remain the same. We may

draw the conclusion that the behavior of the people employed in trade engenders the attitude in buyers that it is impossible to change things for the better.

However, they should not be blamed for this situation. To a certain degree, the law enforcement organs are to be blamed. Of those polled, 14.6 percent think that law enforcement agents are involved in trade and, therefore, are not interested in punishing the guilty. The people polled who are employed in trade do not see this connection. However, everyone is of the unanimous opinion that violators in trade have the support of the management and that management protects them from punishment. This is the opinion of 31.4 percent of office workers, 44.5 percent of people employed in trade, 54.7 percent of students, and 57.9 percent of laborers.

And, finally, all those polled were unanimous on the following subject: 89.7 percent of those who answered the questionnaire do not feel any restructuring in trade.

Those are the results of the poll. And what is the opinion of the readers?

13355

#### **First Ukrainian Law Code Ready for Publication**

18000168b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
18 Dec 87 p 3

[Interview with V.I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian SSR minister of justice, by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent: "The Republic's Law Code"; first paragraph is PRAVDA UKRAINY introduction]

[Text] For the first time in our republic's history the preparation and publication of the UkSSR Law Code have been carried out; it has brought together all the most important legislative acts. What does this publication comprise, and for whom is it intended? This is the subject of the interview presented below by a PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent with V.I. Zaychuk, chairman of the Commission on Publication of the UkSSR Law Code and this republic's minister of justice.

[Answer] We must emphasize that the UkSSR Law Code is a publication of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers. This means that people can cite it as a source for published work. The Code includes legislative acts now in force, the most important joint decrees promulgated by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and the UkSSR Council of Ministers, as well as decrees of a nationwide nature passed by this republic's government.

The creation of the Code differed in principle from the legislative collections previously published. This is not simply a selection and arrangement in a certain order of normative acts which are now in force. It is inherently characterized by scope in updating the normative base.

the quality of its scholarly foundation, planning, and execution of norm-creating works, careful organization and coordination in preparing the drafts with the participation of the appropriate UkSSR ministries and departments, scientific-research institutions, and public organizations. It has elaborated upon a number of new legislative acts, updated others previously in force, and, as a result, our legislation has been enriched, in particular, by such fundamental acts as the Law on Elections to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, the Law on the UkSSR Council of Ministers, the Law on the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, and the following UkSSR Codes: Housing, Forestry, and Violations of Administrative Laws.

Of the 1,037 acts included within the Code's already-published volumes, 420 were prepared during the course of working on the Code or were substantially revised and published in the new edition. And 350 are acts in which substantive changes have been made. Thus, more than half the mass of legislation included in the Code comprises new acts or those which have been brought into line with subsequent laws. All sectors of the republic's legislation have undergone improvement. At the same time work was conducted on weeding out obsolete normative acts which are in conflict with subsequent laws and which do not measure up to contemporary economic conditions. Following a set procedure, we recognized 3,230 such acts as having lost their force, either fully or partially.

[Question] While creating the Code, did you bring up the questions of its accessibility and the stability of the legislation?

[Answer] Upon agreement with the appropriate ministries, state committees, and departments of this republic, 330 acts previously not published in official sources were selected and included in the Code. These acts primarily regulate matters of planning and providing economic incentives for industrial production, optimal utilization of raw-material and fuel-and-energy resources, as well as trade and everyday services to the population. The accessibility of the most important normative acts to citizens has thereby been significantly expanded. The Code will likewise facilitate ensuring greater stability to the legislation, inasmuch as during this period a considerable amount of work was done to regularize and further improve it.

[Question] But won't it happen that this publication will get out of date and be complicated to use? Because, you know, life doesn't stand still.

[Answer] The fact is that the Code's creation presupposed continuously replaceable publication. As the republic's legislation is developed and improved, the Code will be constantly renovated. This means that its materials will be supplemented by newly adopted acts: changes and additions stemming from subsequent legislation will be inserted into the texts of the acts now

included in the Code, whereas acts, or parts of them, which are deemed to have lost their force will be dropped from the Code. And for this reason it was decided to publish the Code on removable sheets with special clamps which make it possible to regularly replace the normative acts without republishing all its materials.

The deadlines for renewing the Code's materials were specified by a decree of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the UkSSR Council of Ministers, dated 3 February 1986. Overall supervision of this work has been entrusted to the Commission on Publishing the UkSSR Law Code. The materials to be used in the replacement process are prepared by the UkSSR Ministry of Justice and will be regularly submitted for the Commission's consultation and approval, in 1987 as of 1 January 1987, then in 1988-1989 twice a year, and in succeeding years—quarterly.

The materials for renewing the Code as of 1 January 1987 included 76 new acts. Among them were 4 acts of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, 16 joint decrees passed by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and the UkSSR Council of Ministers, along with 40 decrees of a general-normative nature passed by the republic's government. These materials were approved by the Commission and turned over to the Ukraine's Politizdat. In 1988 they will be published and sent to the subscribers.

[Question] Will the circulation of this publication be sufficient to satisfy the needs of those wishing to acquire it?

[Answer] The UkSSR Law Code is a subscription-type publication. This also determines the size of its circulation. We have now printed almost 29,000 copies of all 8 volumes, and the 9th—a reference volume—will be received by subscribers in the very near future.

The Code's subscribers are primarily the ispolkoms of oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and rural Soviets of People's Deputies, people's courts, legal-consultation offices, initial notary offices, trade-union organs at the republic and city levels, as well as rayon, city, and central public libraries.

The subscription for materials to renew the Code for 1987 is being continued. In the future the subscription for the additions will be conducted annually. In order to make sure that the Code is in a controlled, operational condition, all that the subscriber will have to do is to replace the obsolete materials with the new ones being received and to do this in a timely manner. Unless this is done regularly, as the materials to renew the Code are issued, the acts included therein will become obsolete, and it will be increasingly more difficult to use the Code.

At present, for example, the republic's laws are being brought into line with the requirements of the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations). Hundreds of

acts on questions of planning, financing, material and technical provisions, accounting, accountability, and several other matters will be duly recognized as having lost their force. These changes will be included in the materials being prepared to renew the Code as of 1 January 1988. If the Code's users fail to make these changes in the appropriate volumes, they will be left with obsolete acts which cannot be used.

Here it is also important to emphasize another factor. A system must be carefully elaborated to monitor the movement of the materials from their publication to the point where they reach the subscribers. A great deal depends on how Ukrkniga organizes this work. As reported to us from the localities, the Sumy and Volyn Oblast book-trade organizations have not conducted a subscription to the additions to the Code; instead they have been awaiting directives from the higher-ranking organizations.

Practical experience affirms that a low level of legal standards frequently leads to a situation whereby, in deciding questions which affect citizens' vital interests, certain state organs and officials have permitted departures from the law's requirements. In applying administrative and labor laws, for example, they have permitted more than one instance of illegal firing, imposition of fines and other punishments by way of administrative procedures. Knowledge of the laws contained in the Code will facilitate raising general and legal standards, as well as strict observance of the existing laws in force.

2384

#### **Progress on Teaching Second Language in Latvian Schools Described**

18000203 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
15 Jan 88 pp 3-4

[LATINFORM report on interview with LaSSR education experts: "The Requirement and the Necessity for a Second Language"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] In August 1987, the Latvian CP Central Committee Commission on National and International Relations examined the issue of the situation in the republic with regard to the teaching and study of the Russian language in schools where Latvian is the language of instruction; and, the teaching of the Latvian language in schools where Russian is the language of instruction. The commission assigned tasks to a number of ministries and departments, to soviet organs, to party and Komsomol organizations, and to the mass information and propaganda media: the purpose of the tasks is to steadfastly strive to achieve bilingualism, in order to support and strengthen national friendship. Several months have passed, and one can already cite the initial results. LATINFORM Correspondents G. Grishina and V. Steshenko contacted A.A. Buylis, LaSSR Minister of Education; Z.V. Austers, first deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education in the republic; and

Ya.A. Kaley, chairman of the LaSSR State Committee on Vocational-Technical Education, and asked them to relate how the recommendations of the Latvian CP Central Committee commission have been implemented in the elementary schools, vocational-technical schools, and VUZ's.

[Buylis] For the elementary schools in which Latvian is the language of instruction, new Russian language textbooks have been published for the 2nd and 8th Grades; additionally, textbooks for the 3rd, 9th, and 10th Grades have been revised. They are accompanied, as a rule, by methodological literature and by lesson materials for the teacher to distribute. Previously-developed programs for reading literature in the 6th to 8th Grades have been re-examined. Our workers have rendered methodological assistance to the teachers in the localities; for example, in Ruzhskiy and Bauskiy Rayons; in Riga, Daugavpils, and Rezekne. Testing conducted in the 10th Grade has shown that on the whole the subject is being taught at a contemporary level.

It should be noted that since the session of the commission, the most rigid attention has been focused on questions of teaching the Latvian language in schools where Russian is the language of instruction. Programs for the 2nd through the 10th Grades have been revised. Whereas previously we began to train children in the Latvian and Russian languages from six years of age, since the first half of this academic year work has begun with five-year-old children. Seventy-six groups, in which 1,828 youngsters are studying, have already been organized.

New textbooks, published this year, are being used by 2nd-graders and 9th-graders in the Russian schools. Next year we expect to have new textbooks for the 3rd and 10th Grades. Thus, all the old academic literature will be gradually replaced. For the time being, it is true, our dream remains unfulfilled on publishing methodological materials and visual training aids for the teachers simultaneously: the capabilities of the printing plants are limited; and the writer collectives are not large enough.

Today, schools in which Russian is the language of instruction already possess four anthologies for reading outside of class hours, and the writer collectives are already working on three more. Scenarios for new film strips have been approved.

An inspection will be completed this year of Latvian language laboratories in schools where Russian is the language of instruction. I must admit that they are not yet operating at full capacity everywhere.

We have attempted to take a critical approach to questions of teaching the Latvian language to children who speak another language. We have been justly reproached for the fact that this work was not carried out at the proper level. The situation is now being corrected. But in certain schools it remains unsatisfactory. Among these



are the Yaunogorskaya Secondary School in Ogrskiy Rayon, the 7th Secondary School in Yurmala and Liyepaya, and a number of schools in Riga.

The unfortunate thing is that there are not enough specialists. In Riga, it is true, we are extensively involving the students as well as instructors of other subjects. But this is just a temporary solution to the problem. It will be finally solved only when our VUZ's are able to completely satisfy the needs of popular education in the republic with cadres of teachers in the given subject.

[Kaleys] The Latvian lads who come to us at the Vocational-Technical School know the Russian language. And they continue to study it in accordance with the program developed here. It, by the way, stipulates the close connection of the language with the specialty studied. How is this done? It is understood, you see, that a mechanization specialist will in the future have to work on equipment manufactured at plants in other republics. All accompanying documentation comes in the Russian language. The instructors take this into consideration, and accordingly offer their students all the technical terminology in the Russian language as well. The very same approach to language study is taken in physical education classes and in military training lessons.

In my opinion the experience of accelerated mastery of Russian conversational speech is interesting and worthy of dissemination. An experiment such as this at the 4th Tsisis Vocational-Technical School and the 23rd Naukshenskoe Vocational-Technical School has already shown good results. The problem of teaching the Latvian language to representatives of other nationalities must be solved on the basis of this methodology as well. In any case we have sent our proposals on this account to the All-Union Scientific-Methodological Center.

It must be acknowledged that the study of the Latvian language in groups, where Russian is the language of instruction, has up to now not been at the proper level. This subject has quite often been considered of secondary importance. We are already grateful to the commission for the fact that it has helped us approach the solution to the given problem on a new level. Upon its recommendation, the republic Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Finance have since August been seeking the means, with the help of which we can now divide the groups of students, where Russian is the language of instruction, into two sub-groups, as has long been the practice in the Vocational-Technical School where Latvian is the language of instruction. You see, among those who apply, the level of knowledge of the Latvian language varies widely. Some know it and can carry on a conversation, and others have learned it in schools outside the republic; thus, the division was simply a necessity. But yet another problem has sprung up—a shortage of Latvian-language instructors. For the time being we are enlisting those who, although they have another specialty, are capable of fulfilling the stated

requirements. In addition to a textbook, a Latvian-Russian conversation book, and a self-study guide for the Latvian language, are used. But we are experiencing a shortage in Russian-Latvian and Latvian-Russian dictionaries. Also in short supply are specially equipped laboratories, methodological materials and visual aids.

[Austers] It was altogether proper for the Commission from the Latvian CP Central Committee to focus attention on the problem of training Russian language instructors for schools where Latvian is the language of instruction, and Latvian instructors for schools with the Russian language—as well as for children's pre-school institutions. This work is being carried on in accordance with a special-purpose comprehensive program to be carried out by the year 1990. The program, which is based on requirements presented by the LaSSR Ministry of Education, envisages measures for expanding VUZ enrollment for these specialties. Supervision over the realization of the program is being maintained simultaneously by the LaSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the republic Minpros. Thus, by a joint resolution, last year we managed to increase the enrollment of future Russian and Latvian language teachers by 100 persons.

Enrollment has increased at teacher training institutes, as well. At Rezekne, an additional 180 persons have been enrolled, as future instructors and teachers for children's pre-school institutions. At the teacher training institute in Riga, in order to meet the needs of the republic's capital, seven groups comprising 210 future kindergarten teachers have entered training; these teachers will be capable of teaching both the Latvian and Russian languages to children from the age of five.

[Correspondent] The study of a second language is not an end in itself. This is a means for raising the common culture and strengthening the friendship of nations. The need for it arises when the proper atmosphere is established in the collective and in the family. How is the plan for patriotic and international education being implemented in the academic institutions?

[Buylis] Mass measures have not yet replaced the individual approach to working with children and juveniles in all school collectives. Nor is there always the proper communication among the collectives of schools at which instruction is carried on in different languages. This is our age-old problem, and we must deal with it.

And there is yet another feature. Both the Latvian children and children of other nationalities read different magazines and books, and not only in their own native language. Teachers must take this into consideration, and should recommend to their pupils, that when preparing for their lessons in geography, physics, history or literature, they turn to sources in Russian, Latvian, English, German, or other languages. This would further

the cause of bilingualism, so necessary for life in a national republic, or even multilingualism, that it might become a normal part of life.

Practical experience confirms that a great deal has been done since the commission met. But after all, perfecting international and patriotic education is not a short-term effort; it is our everyday work, and sometimes we do not have what it takes to carry it out.

[Kalays] We should now be thinking about how to spread the existing experience in cooperation among the academic institutions at which instruction is conducted in different languages. Why, let's say, should the pupils at the Vocational-Technical Schools, general-educational schools, or technical schools situated in the same micro-rayon not combine their efforts? After all, they have a wealth of activities. Children's playgrounds need to be kept in order, and there are questions of environmental protection or preservation of monuments to resolve. After all, there are no problems in mutual relations among the lads of different nationalities who study together in creative study groups, who belong to the same sports sections, or vocal-instrumental ensembles. And here we are making heavy work of the engineering and pedagogical make-up of the schools. Both by example and through their own experience they should teach the kids self-control and responsibility for their deeds.

In studying the language or the culture of a nation, the role of the representatives of our creative societies is irreplaceable. And we have established very fine long-term relations with them. They render us invaluable assistance in preparations for Language Day, which is becoming a tradition in the republic; and they take part in meetings on popular fiction, which are also very popular in the schools. Both famous and beginning poets, writers, artists, composers and actors have been frequent guests to our Vocational-Technical Schools. But here is what I would like to take note of. If at the Vocational-Technical Schools where instruction is carried out in the Latvian language they would truly become their own people, they would not so often be lost in admiration of the schools with instruction in the Russian language. But how then could one convincingly, graphically, and understandably explain to the lads the culture of the Latvian people?

[Austers] One could spend a long time enumerating the measures from VUZ plans for work on patriotic and international education—here there are the various scientific-practical conferences, and "round table" discussions, and clubs at the social sciences departments; meetings with veterans of the revolution, Latvian Red Riflemen, and internationalist soldiers; and youth participation in amateur artist's collectives... But for us, the most important thing is to know what all these measures have yielded, in order to make timely adjustments to the plans. In order to determine the level of maturity of a

student, a number of VUZ's in the republic have set up sociological groups for systematic research into the interests and spiritual needs of the young students.

[Correspondent] The level of history instruction has become extremely important in our times, in resolving questions of the international and patriotic education of the younger generation. It is no secret that the materials found in today's textbooks do not yet meet today's needs. What is being undertaken in this direction?

[Buylis] A new book has already been prepared for readings on the history of the Latvian SSR for the 7th and 8th Grades, and in September the competition for the creation of a textbook for the 4th Grade should be completed. This summer a history textbook will be published for both groups, edited by Academician A.A. Drizula of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences. Methodological materials are now being written for this book. On the initiative of the Latvian CP Central Committee, seminars have been organized for the current academic year for instructors of general-educational subjects. A great many materials have been published in republic newspapers and magazines which help history teachers to take a methodologically-correct approach to the study of a number of questions of the republic's history. In a word, the work is in progress, although it is still too early to determine the results.

[Kalays] I think that we should not just wait for a new textbook; after all, it will simply not be able to cope with the events in our lives. What is needed is that the teacher master the required level of knowledge and the ability to make use of everything that has already been written in our history. After the seminars organized by the Latvian CP Central Committee, many of our historians were astounded by the fact that it turned out that so many of the so-called "blank spots" have long been described in various editions. It is only that they were not given proper attention, and valuable materials which contain the answers to the students' questions have been gathering dust on the library shelves.

It is good that such guideposts have now been provided by our scholars.

And there is more. Today the pages of our newspapers and magazines contain a great deal of criticism. Unfortunately, quite often in certain publications and articles one hears the idea that everything that was done in the past was done improperly. This one-sided perception gives our young people a false orientation on the path of development of Soviet society for 70 years. In my opinion, one should speak of our errors in the tone which was used in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the session dedicated to celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

If you want to speak of the difficulties which are hindering our work in educating the young people, this is what I would take note of: we have not yet learned to fully

analyze the work each of us has done in this direction, to assemble the fragments of good experience, and disseminate it. We often make hasty decisions that are not always right. We must break away from this.

[Austers] The material contained in today's textbooks truly does not meet the needs of the day. Therefore the republic Minvuz has developed a program for a series of lectures on topical questions on the history of Latvia (1917-1940), for VUZ students and for pupils studying at secondary specialized educational institutions, in both the Latvian and Russian languages. Classes are being held with students at the Latvian Order of Labor Red Banner State University imeni P. Stuchki and the Riga Order of Labor Red Banner Polytechnical Institute imeni A.Ya. Pelshe, on the history of the republic, in the course of which light is shed on the so-called "blank spots." There is a lecture hall at the university for the History of the Latvian SSR. And VUZ instructors are rendering assistance to the secondary specialized educational institutions by way of offering consultations and delivering lectures. The collectives at the History of the CPSU Department at the university and the polytechnical institute are completing work on developing teaching aids for history.

[Correspondent] Does it not seem to you that the braking mechanism is in operation and that the organizational period is clearly being dragged out? What sort of difficulties have proven insurmountable until now? Who, and what subdivision bears responsibility for this?

[Buylis] It seems to me that one should not speak of a braking mechanism as if it were some kind of conscious opposition. It's simply that sometimes the school collectives take a formal approach to the solution of a number of problems. But if one speaks about the material-technical base for education, then one cannot say that we do not have enough assets—although one would like to, let's say, subscribe to more magazines and newspapers for the schools, or allocate more money for excursions.

[Kalays] It seems to me that the process of assimilating the younger generations into civil life is largely hindered by the existing situation in terms of limiting the age at which a young person can take part in socially-useful labor. We protect our children too long from taking part in adult life.

[Kalays] Matters are not proceeding as fast as we would like. The reason for the shortage of teachers is obvious: five years are required to provide a young specialist a higher education. A student enrolling in a VUZ in 1987 will not be graduated until 1992. Thus, we should have been thinking about the current need for specialists five years ago. Moreover, it is the republic Gosplan which determines these needs.

I am convinced that all our subdivisions take a proper approach to the program for affirming bilingualism as a norm of life. However, we are being held back by the

insufficient material-technical base at the pedagogical institutes and universities. And it is only because of the fact that a number of departments—Gosplan, and the republic construction ministry—do not wish to resolve the urgent questions and carry out their own, previously made decisions and obligations, that we are unable to radically expand the training of the specialists that are so necessary for the contemporary school. And you see, in connection with the construction of the pedagogical department at the university, 100,000 rubles from 1987 remain unassimilated.

What with the shortage of instructors, it would seem logical to take a careful attitude toward them. But according to statistical data, a significant portion of the instructors in the Latvian and Russian languages who have graduated from the VUZ, are not working in their specialty. And one of the basic reasons for this situation is the unsatisfactory solution of the housing problem for the young specialists assigned to the republic Ministry of Education system.

[Correspondent] Please describe the prospects for perestroika in the teaching and study of the Russian and Latvian languages in your ministry.

[Buylis] Primarily this means constant concern for the quality of instruction, and for strengthening the academic-material base for the subject. We place great hopes in the graduates of the Latvian State University and Daugavpils Polytechnical Institute who will arrive at our schools in the new academic year.

For the training of adults in the Latvian language, methodological recommendations have been worked out, and any collective may receive a copy at their rayon department of popular education. At the ministry, bilingualism has long been widespread, and so there are no problems here.

[Kalays] Beginning this year, officials on our committee are given the opportunity to enroll in Latvian language courses. Every Monday they meet with an instructor for class. Similar courses have been organized at a number of schools.

[Austers] It is also possible to make up for the omissions in the study of the Latvian and Russian languages at the VUZ. We are striving to create all the conditions for this. They are being studied by graduate students in preparatory courses and departments. And courses have been organized for students who wish to study the Latvian language. At a number of VUZ's with a non-humanities profile, such as the Riga Polytechnical Institute and the Latvian Order of Labor Red Banner Agricultural Academy an entrance examination in the Russian language has been set up for first-year students who are graduates of a national school. Students with a poor command of the Russian language have the opportunity for additional study at the Foreign Languages Department. Students from Latvian groups of late quite often prepare and



defend their diploma projects in the Russian language—about 20 percent. At most of the republic's VUZ's good conditions have been established for studying the Russian language.

In 1987 instructors at the Latvian Language Department of Latvian State University prepared the first part of a self-study package for the Latvian language, and are continuing to work on it. A number of VUZ's are organizing courses in the Latvian language for the public, for a fee. As far as the ministry apparatus is concerned, practically everyone speaks two languages, and several are perfecting their knowledge in courses.

Deputy Chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers, L.L. Bartkevich comments on the pace of fulfilling the recommendations of the Latvian CP Central Committee on national and international relations:

"Ours is a multinational republic, and most of the working collectives are multinational. 'Mutual respect and friendship' is how one may characterize the most important thing in the relations of people of different nationalities who are working to achieve a common goal. This affirmation can be vividly illustrated by certain examples which are uncommon in such instances: every fourth marriage which takes place in Latvia is between people of different nationalities. In terms of this indicator, we occupy first place in the country. Moreover—these marriages have turned out to be the most stable.

"Among the most important principles of Lenin's nationality policy is the guarantee of the free development and the equal right of all citizens of the USSR to use their native languages, mastering the Russian language along with them, which is voluntarily adopted as the means of international intercourse; and also mastery by the representatives of the different nationalities of the language of the indigenous populace.

"But whereas no complications have arisen in solving the basic political and economic problems of nationality relations, the practical experience of language and the everyday standards of international relations, frankly speaking, have been given less attention than they deserve. At a session of the Latvian CP Central Committee Commission, shortcomings were disclosed in the teaching and study of the Russian language in schools where Latvian is the language of instruction; and the Latvian language in schools where Russian is the language of instruction. The commission assigned specific tasks to a number of ministries and departments, to Soviet organs, and to party and Komsomol organizations, directed at affirming the principle of bilingualism as a norm of life and an objective necessity.

"Only a short time has passed, but the results are already obvious. I believe that success was preordained, since this policy coincided with the needs of the people. For example, as soon as the conditions began to be set up for mastering the Latvian language, they immediately

received the support of the public. Courses in Latvian became much larger, and it became more difficult to get into them. Possession of a second language became, if you will, prestigious, and even fashionable. But of course, it is not a question of fashion. The mastery of another language, as a certain writer said, makes a person doubly rich; and it helps to raise the standards of international relations to a new level.

"The mass information and propaganda media—television, radio, and the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH has played a large role in the propagation of bilingualism. Democratization and glasnost have permitted openly discussing the existing problems, without inhibition, and to outline ways to resolve them. By virtue of its internal reserves, the republic Goskomizdat managed to publish a number of the books needed, although it is true that the demand for them has not yet been satisfied.

"The leaders of national education have already described that which has been done in our VUZ's, general-educational schools, and vocational-technical schools for improving the study of the Latvian and Russian languages. This process is under the continuous surveillance of the republic government. I, and my colleagues, have managed to visit the schools during examinations and lessons on these subjects. We are convinced that the graduates of the academic institutions where lessons are held in the Latvian language as a rule know the Russian language well. The instruction and study of the Latvian language in schools where Russian is the language of instruction has improved, although the results are not yet so high as one would wish. At present, about 20 percent of the non-Latvian populace in the republic is able to freely converse in the Latvian language. One can hope that in the near future this proportion will begin to steadily increase. As was already noted, all necessary conditions are being established in the republic to master Latvian in kindergartens, schools, vocational-technical schools and VUZ's, and also in the working collectives.

"Here it must be stressed that in this matter, bureaucratic practices and coercion are unacceptable; only painstaking educational work, and conviction!

"Of course we still have many difficulties. Standing in our path are the shortcomings of past years, one of which is the insufficient material-technical base of the VUZ's which train the teachers, which has its effect on the shortage of teachers of the Latvian and Russian languages. But it would be a great mistake to cite this shortage and merely wait for better times. We must seek and find reserves, and they exist. Both a graduate from a secondary school who has an aptitude for working with children, and, shall we say a historian, or a librarian, or people in other specialties who know both languages well, can offer assistance in mastering the language of a fraternal nation. We must enlist philologists in this work, who for whatever reason have left the school. The

ministries, national education departments and pedagogical collectives must display creativity, enterprise, resourcefulness and initiative in the search for ways to resolve this problem.

"Organization of language courses and study groups is taking place at present basically in institutions; but it is proceeding at an unacceptable pace in the working collectives—and most of all in those places where one must continually deal with the public: in trade, in everyday services, in transportation, at medical institutions, as well as at industrial enterprises, and on kollektives and sovkhozes. Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations in the localities must also become involved in the search for internal reserves for organizing language study.

"Concrete, daily work lies ahead for unconditionally putting into practice the plans outlined for developing bilingualism, for training teacher cadres and for establishing, in cooperation with the ispolkoms of local Soviets and trade union committees, the proper working and living conditions for them. Selection and purposeful direction to the pedagogical VUZ's should become more active everywhere for young people who have an aptitude and experience in working with children.

"The affirmation of the principle of bilingualism is not a short-term campaign, but the principled policy of the party. It is very important to direct public opinion toward propagation of voluntary mastery of the Russian and Latvian languages, as an important means for teaching a high common culture of man and the culture of international relations."

09006

#### **Fear of Reprisals Prompts Readers to Prefer Anonymity**

18000193a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
19 Dec 87 p 2

[Letters to the editorial staff of *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*; first paragraph is source introduction; last paragraph is source close]

[Text] On 21 November 1987, *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* published a note from P. Golovashko, a resident of Zaporozhye, under the title "Veto Anonymity". In his note, this labor and war veteran expressed his opinion about unsigned letters. There was a lively response from readers. Here is their opinion on this score.

#### **An Iron Shield is Necessary**

[Text] Kramatorsk — Until such time as leaders who persecute others for criticism are no longer protected by an iron shield, no form of glasnost or democracy will eliminate anonymity and people will continue to resort to this safe means of criticism.

I read newspapers regularly but I have never encountered a case where a chief has been tried for being intolerant of or persecuting others because of criticism. But this should be done and we must be particularly steadfast in restructuring in this direction.

A. Bezuglyy

#### **Anonymity Will Disappear If...**

[Text] Komsomolsk, Poltava oblast — A master of satire and humor said this about anonymity in one of his television broadcasts: "It is openness in a period of stagnation and stagnation in a period of openness."

Humor is humor but there is a grain of truth here. Reconstruction is gaining in tempo but, all the same, there are still many of us who have been unfairly dismissed and persecuted for criticism. Who wants to be punished further for the truth?

And another thing: how do you fight stagnation? This is why anonymity has appeared. Cowardly people were its first "parents" but gradually it became a means of fighting for justice. P. P. Golovashko noted correctly that there should be no anonymity among us.

I would like to offer my point of view on this score. Keeping secret the name of the author of a letter or complaint is necessary. Pass a law making someone who divulges a name criminally responsible. I am convinced that those who prefer anonymity and use it for mercenary motives will not trust that law and will continue to remain anonymous. Then their scribbles can be dropped freely in the garbage can, and there will be no need for a normal person to conceal his name.

V. Mashkovets, veteran of the Armed Forces of the USSR.

#### **Will You Really Ban That Which is not Permitted Anyway?**

[Text] Kremenchug — It is difficult to agree with P. Golovashko from Zaporozhye. Just how do you ban something which exists without authorization! The circumstances of our lives gave birth to anonymity.

I do not consider this the whole of the matter. If workers who are called upon to deal with letters from laborers start taking care of their assignments honestly and justly, then people will value their efforts for their true worth. They will surely respond to this sign with directness and openness. Thus only after this will anonymous letters cease to exist. There will be no anonymous letters when you and I better fulfill our obligations. I consider it a mistake to think that we can get rid of them by talking about the damage from this "ugly phenomenon, unworthy of our time." We must expose the authors of slanderous letters and punish them according to the law.

F. Kuzmin

### No More Than a Defensive Reaction

[Text] Poltava — Because of the specific nature of their work, many examiners and inspectors have formed a definite stereotypical way of thinking. Most of the time, they look at who complains and about whom. I think a lot of our troubles come from this.

Do away with anonymity and you get a situation where the one who is right is the one who has the greater right. You run into the ambitions and dishonesty of some leaders everywhere. RABOCHAYA GAZETA actually talks about these negative occurrences in one issue.

It is not yet time to refuse unsigned mail. This mail is, after all, no more than people's defensive reaction to persecution and injustice.

V. Sanin

### It is Shameful, But What's the Way Out

[Text] Snezhnoye, Donetsk Oblast — I fully agree that anonymous letters do not color our lives but it is too soon to abolish them. And this is why: we are still not mature enough for honesty and directness or the truthful acknowledgment of our mistakes. If you cannot watch what is scandalous in production and you want to speak out openly against it, expect trouble. Rarely will anyone help or support you. Anonymous protest against disorder is reliable protection against reprisal. I advise you to write about honest workers who care about their business and not gossips and envious people.

V. Mishchenko, labor veteran

### The Pen "Incognito"

[Text] Gorlovka — There is no keeping account of how many thieves, bribe-takers and bureaucrats have been exposed thanks to anonymity.

Sometimes there arise situations in which one simply cannot give one's name. If I inform the militia about a gang of thieves and sign my name, then later they will simply eat me alive.

But talking with a slanderer, of course, is a special case. They should not be confused with honest people who simply are forced to remain "incognito".

P. Timchenko, plant worker

### Screw Up Your Courage and...Remain Silent

[Text] Orekhovo, Voroshilovgrad Oblast — Having read "Veto", I immediately reached for my pen. In my view everything is erroneously being lumped together. After all, some writers cannot sign because of threats directed against them. Is heroism really necessary when they have warned you to your face: if you complain — you better run!

My opinion is that you must screw up your courage and patience and shut up about anonymity. How can you give out the name of a man who has written to you anonymously and truthfully about abuses? It happened to me that I once was careless enough to sign my name to a letter exposing a thief. He was caught and fined. For some reason, the militia gave the offender my name. In short — I was hit in the head with a brick and have remained an invalid for my whole life.

S. Ogirya, war and labor veteran

From the Editorial Staff: Considering the opinions of many readers with regard to the amorality of anonymous letters as a phenomenon, the editorial staff of RABOCHAYA GAZETA will not read unsigned letters in the future. Along with this, we guarantee secrecy of authorship if a reader who turns to RABOCHAYA GAZETA for help requests it.

13254

### Reader Laments Inability To Find Work in Armenia 18300165 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 3

[Letter from V. Khinoyev, graduate of the Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni Plekhanov, entitled "I Want To Work," under the heading "A Surprising Fact"]

[Text] I'm 33 years old, and I live in the village of Verkhniy Dvin in Artashatskiy Rayon. I graduated from the trade and economics department of the Moscow Institute of the National Economy with a nonbinding degree. Then where could I go? Back home, of course. I've been without work for 6 months already, living at the expense of my father, who is retired. Naturally, I am unable to start a family. My father and I have appealed everywhere with a request to employ me in my area of specialization. In the rayon soviet and the RAPO they say that there is no work available. But not long ago on local TV one of the Agroprom managers was complaining about the shortage of personnel with higher education. What's going on here? On the one hand, I have a degree and am needed by no one; on the other hand, the field is in need of personnel. For some reason it occurred to me that it is precisely now, when we are building a new life, that such paradoxes should not be permitted.

### KGB Mole Infiltrates Estonian Exile Organization in Sweden

18000240 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 carries on page 6 a 2000-word article by Voldemar Kholm titled "Directors and Performers: The Story of a Former Messenger for an Emigre 'Center for Aid to Estonian Political Prisoners.'"

The introduction to the article identifies Kholm as a sailor who "had worked with an Estonian steamship company for nearly twenty years." During his visits to



Baltic ports he often met with Estonian emigres. "Soon he began to feel that they were trying to win him over. Finally they offered to introduce him to Ants Kippar, an Estonian living in Stockholm

"This name, which had frequently appeared in 'Radio Free Europe' and 'Voice of America' broadcasts, suggested to Kholm just what they were trying to drag him into. He turned to his republic's KGB. The KGB asked him not to refuse to meet Kippar or to turn down the propositions that would follow. Thus, Voldemar Kholm became a 'messenger' for the Sweden-based 'Center for Aid to Estonian Political Prisoners.' He carried out all its assignments for seven years.

"Now this side of his foreign travels is no longer a secret. The republic's press and television have, with Kholm's help, exposed the true face and activities of the center." The rest of the story is told by Kholm himself.

According to Kholm, Kippar's first assignments for him were simple and he carried them out with ease. "Gradually, in about a year, Kippar began to trust me. We worked out conspiratorial methods of communication. My exactness and punctuality were appreciated, and I learned in great detail about life in the center behind the scenes, about who was supporting it and financing its activities."

Kholm came to learn about Kippar's past activities: "Kippar escaped from Estonia to Sweden before Estonia was liberated from the Fascists. At first he was involved with helping to get spies into our country. Over the years he made his way into the leadership of an emigre organization called the 'Estonian National Council.' After suffering losses in shady financial transactions he emerged from the ashes for a third time in the role of chairman of the center, which was founded with money from Western intelligence organizations for the purpose of carrying out ideological diversion against Estonia, collecting political and military information, and coordinating the activities of anti-Soviet individuals."

Kippar was using the center for his own purposes. "He managed to virtually monopolize the flow of information to his patrons — Western radio stations, agencies, and newspapers. He also took it upon himself to organize both large and small scale anti-Soviet provocations in various Scandinavian capitals."

These activities, of course, required considerable financial resources. "At first he (Kippar) assured me that the center was entirely supported by emigre contributions. But I was soon convinced that they had long ago become tired of these political extortions. The center couldn't have survived a week on contributions alone. I saw the financial accounts — large sums were written off as going toward the struggle for liberation, for 'the fighting men.' On the whole, however, the money came home to roost with the members of the center themselves, and especially with the chairman. Sometimes he (Kippar) smiled

to himself: if only our 'American uncle' (Kippar's words) or our financiers from the 'radio voices' knew that for the most part they are paying for purely fabricated information.

"Here is just one example. Several years ago the center tried to organize 'strikes of silence' in Estonia. The hopeless undertaking was given wide publicity beforehand but finally collapsed, although this was not admitted. Materials on the success of the strike were carried by all channels, and first and foremost by the 'Voice of America'....

"Kippar desperately needed documented proof of nationalistic activities in Estonia. 'Let your comrades,' he advised, 'hang the flag of bourgeois Estonia on some abandoned old building, or write our slogan on some wall, and take photographs.'

"Kippar, who was a vain man, conveyed his instructions to his accomplices by dictating them onto a tape. He insisted that letters delivered to the center be signed by 'Estonian academicians,' 'cultural figures,' or an 'independent party.' Thus a myth arose in the West that there was a significant nationalist, anti-Soviet underground in the republic. I have seen lists of 'Estonian political prisoners.' Only a few of them were people who were really sentenced for anti-Soviet activity. The rest were criminals....

"I was constantly surprised by the cynical indifference that Kippar displayed towards the fate of those whom he had dragged in, and urged on, by words and paltry material rewards, to anti-Soviet activity. Nor did he fail to hide his disregard for so-called dissidents.... 'The more of them are put in prison, the better for the cause and the center,' he used to say. 'We will find a new generation of replacements for them....'"

Kippar was always asking Kholm to undertake any diversion or to give him any kind of news, stating that he was "in a difficult situation. I have nothing to tell the Western countries about the struggle being waged in Estonia." For this reason the center had to be generous with its resources. Kholm was given money and equipment, including cameras and tape recorders, to help with his work. However, this gave him cause for concern. One day he said to Kippar, "Sweden is a neutral country. My activities — and the activities of the center even more so — are violating this neutrality. What if they suddenly catch me with a large sum of Soviet rubles and equipment for espionage?" Kippar tried to calm Kholm's fears by telling him that the center had patrons in Western intelligence services who would come to their aid.

Kippar tried to upgrade Kholm in status from "messenger" to genuine spy. "He gave me a large scale map of Estonia, prepared for the American army, on which were indicated the locations of (Soviet) military and defense facilities. He had a small request: he wanted me to verify, on site, that these locations had been plotted exactly. In

other words, he wanted me to travel throughout the republic with a miniature camera, a special dosimeter, etc....This has always, at all times, in all countries, been known as military espionage."

Kippar's death at the beginning of 1987 served Kholm as a pretext for breaking with the center. The real reason, Kholm writes, was "the necessity of telling the whole truth about this."

#### **Urban Migration Impedes Rural Development**

18350409c [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 December 1987 carries on page 3 a 1300-word article by K. Gurbanov, director of the sector for socioeconomic problems of the

village at the Agricultural Economy Scientific Research Institute of TuSSR Gosagroprom, headlined "The Social Development of the Village." He claims that "in strengthening the agro-industrial production economy, the actuality of improving the village's social structure is determined by the growing importance of social factors and the dissatisfaction of the rural population with the situation of village social structure. The significant differences between rural and urban social structures are relevant to its basic problems." Among the problems cited are significant differences in urban-rural education levels, the fact that "almost half" of average-sized and smaller rural settlements lack regular transportation and telephone connections with rayon centers, and what he calls "unnecessary urban migration" which "impedes the development of agricultural growth."

**Sarkisyan On Armenian Ecological, Nuclear Power Issues**

18300096 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 Dec 87  
pp 1-2

[ARMENPRESS interview with Fadey Tachatovich Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers: "Living Up To Our Responsibility To Future Generations"]

[Text] [Question] Fadey Tachatovich, the people in our republic have been demonstrating a greater interest in environmental issues lately. This is natural, since people are very concerned about the conditions in which they live and work, as well as in the ecological legacy they leave subsequent generations. Unfortunately, the press and other media have failed to report regularly on our major environmental protection efforts. At times, reports are extremely emotional, with articles published before factual material has been adequately analyzed.

What I would like to know is what the actual ecological situation in the republic is. What has been accomplished and what is being done in the area of environmental protection?

[Answer] You are right about those kinds of articles appearing lately. And there is no question but that there is some foundation to them, since, as we all know, Yerevan is on the list of the country's most polluted cities.

And certainly the situation in this respect is anything but satisfactory at this point, but it would be unfair to deny the considerable progress made in improving the environment here.

For all intents and purposes, our fundamental attitude toward ecological issues began with the USSR Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 16 April 1975. The Armenian communist party and the government of Armenia drafted and began implementing a long-term program aimed at improving Armenia's ecological status, enhancing protection and conservation-minded use of natural resources, and restoring and replacing natural resources. Over the last few Five-Year Plans, hundreds of millions of rubles have been spent on implementing this massive program. Waste treatment facilities have been built in several Armenian cities, as well as at industrial and transportation enterprises, while regional integrated pollution prevention networks have been set up in the areas with the least favorable profile in this respect. Between 1975 and 1985, industrial output more than doubled, yet pollution as a whole dropped.

One can state confidently that if our extensive agenda of environmental programs is implemented, we will have solved the pollution prevention issue and reduced the pollutant concentration to optimum acceptable levels. Of paramount importance among these programs are

planning and building new facilities, and well as modernizing and upgrading old ones. I am referring primarily to efforts aimed at keeping air and water clean and protecting plant and animal life and soil resources. As before, the republic's policy of giving priority to such precision machine building industries as radio electronics, computers, instruments, precision machine tools, and consumer goods remains in effect. Among the reasons behind our charting this course of development are the weather and climate of the republic, as well as other characteristics of the area.

Over the last seven or eight years, we have built and started operations at water treatment facilities with a total capacity of 720,000 cubic meters of waste water per day. Last year, these plants cleaned a total of 310 million cubic meters of waste water. Ten years ago, this figure was an order of magnitude lower.

One of our important environmental protection efforts has been the modernization of the Kanakarskiy Aluminum Plant, where direct production of aluminum has been stopped and the plant now produces aluminum foil from aluminum manufactured elsewhere. By stopping direct production of aluminum in June of 1984, we were able to completely eliminate all fluoride compound pollution from Yerevan's air. Dust emissions (1,200 tons per year) into the atmosphere have also been completely stopped.

Between 1980 and 1986, the Alaverdskiy Mining and Steel Production Complex saw implementation of major environmental protection efforts. These included: reducing output of blister copper by discontinuing shipments of ore from other economic areas and setting up copper powder production; cutting sulfide processing by-products; stopping elementary sulfur burning; and replacing many obsolete gas cleaning installations. These efforts have made it possible to reduce emissions of pollutants into the city's atmosphere by a factor of three and cut the amount of toxic material being dumped into the Debed River by 1,300 tons annually.

By converting the Razdanskiy Chemical Ore Mining Plant to a machine building facility, we were able to keep 12,000 tons of harmful compound emissions out of the atmosphere, 100,000 tons of alkali and acid pollutants out of the Marmarik River, and to cut the plant's operational consumption of water from Lake Sevan to 30 million tons annually.

In 1989, we will complete construction of a modern cement plant in an area of cement quarries and begin using the facilities of the Razdanskiy cement plant to produce precision machinery. This will permit us to cut 9,500 tons of harmful emissions and reduce the amount of Lake Sevan water used by 9.5 million cubic meters.

The action we have taken will allow us to save Tsakhkadzor, one of the finest children's health resorts in Armenia, and the environment of Razdanskiy region.



Another of our more important projects was stopping production of dicyandiamide and its derivative melamin at the Kirovanskiy Chemical Plant imeni A. Myasnikyan. In addition, the plant has cut calcium carbide production from 54,000 to 30,000 tons and closed the weak nitric acid and ammonium nitrate shops, thus halting the emission of nitric oxides ("fox tail") into the atmosphere. At the same time, organic substance emissions into the atmosphere have dropped by 9,000 tons, or by a factor of seven, while the plant has expanded production of critical industrial crystals.

The Yerevanskiy and Kirovanskiy TETs's and the Razdanskiy GRES have each upgraded a boiler unit, utilizing a design that recirculates flue gas, and thus yielded a 30 percent (6,400 tons per year) reduction in nitric oxide emissions.

The list goes on, since essentially all enterprises have been undertaking environmental protection measures to one extent or another lately. I have focussed only on the most important ones.

[Question] Fadey Tachatovich, in June of this year, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published an article by Z. Balayan entitled "Yerevan in Trouble." The article raised questions about the ecological situation in the capital of our republic and, specifically, about the considerable emissions from the Nairit scientific production association. Can you tell me what has been done in this regard?

[Answer] Since the issue bothers many Yerevan residents, I would like to focus on it briefly once again, although it has been written about extensively. I would like to make it clear from the start that beginning with the site selection in the 1930's and continuing on to the plant modernization programs of 1951 and 1966, the necessary integrated philosophy was not present at this facility, and planning was inadequate from a worker safety and harmful emissions standpoint. The same applies to the introduction of new manufacturing processes, as well as the subsequent increase in output and ensuing city planning. Everyone knows that because it uses manufacturing processes which are an explosion hazard, the plant, which is located in the middle of a densely populated area, represents a danger to the city.

The leaders of the republic proposed eliminating the previous orientation of the plant and using it for monomer production. They were able to do this in 1982, and the constant threat of potentially major explosions was eliminated. By introducing new techniques for producing chloroprene from butadiene, we have been able to shut down obsolete and worn-out calcium carbide and acetylene facilities, a major explosion hazard in the form of a facility producing monovinylacetylene and its derivative chloroprene, and a chloroprene facility. At the same time, scientists and engineers from the association have been working very hard at cutting chloroorganic

waste emissions from the facility that produces chloroprene from butadiene. The new technology permits us to reduce chloroprene emissions into the atmosphere around the city by a significant factor. For the enterprise as a whole, harmful emissions into the atmosphere decreased from 33,000 tons in 1975 to 14,500 tons in 1986, while chloroprene emissions dropped from 3,750 tons to 2,100 tons. Despite all the work we have done, there is still a considerable amount of pollutant emission, largely because the new rubber polymerization technology has not been given adequate capacities and the obsolete continuous chloroprene polymerization facility ("Rubber 1"), whose use has not been discontinued at the enterprise, still dumps harmful pollutants into the environment. For this reason, the republic has insisted on closing the old rubber facility ("Rubber 1"). This will make it possible to cut emissions into the atmosphere to 230 tons per year by the beginning of 1988 and trim them to 100 tons over the course of the year; that is, to reduce them to the optimum acceptable concentration [PDK]. At the same time, discharges into the sewer grid will also fall to PDK levels. In accordance with instructions issued by the USSR Council of Ministers, government commissions and the country's key experts carefully studied these proposals and reported on them to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Although the country's only chloroprene rubber plant is vital to the economy, the USSR Council of Ministers just adopted a resolution to close the "Rubber 1" facility in order to permit the ecological recovery of the area.

At the same time, the USSR government decided to deal with the problem of the Nairit scientific production association being located in a densely populated area by issuing instructions to speed up efforts to plan and build a new plant outside the Armenian SSR. Ultimately, completing this plant will enable the Nairit scientific production association to be used for other manufacturing purposes.

The resolution contains plans for resolving other major environmental protection issues in Yerevan as well.

[Question] What you have told us is fair enough, and workers must surely appreciate the efforts undertaken by the republic's leaders to improve the ecological situation. However, it also stands to reason that our expectations vis-a-vis the ecological situation are rising. In addition, as you yourself said, the situation is still far from satisfactory. This is particularly the case as the republic's economy grows and city limits expand, thus giving rise to ever newer ecological and environmental protection problems. We feel natural resource conservation measures would be more successful if all heads of ministries and departments, local government agencies, and industrial enterprises were more involved in solving ecological problems.

Don't you think the effectiveness of the global measures undertaken to modernize plants, get some of them producing different products, and build waste treatment facilities depends to a great extent on the seriousness of the effort, the operational status of the facility in question, and, what is most important, compliance with decisions that have been adopted?

[Answer] Unfortunately you are right. I would put it even more succinctly. It is unquestionably easier to deal with problems holistically and implement natural resource conservation programs before designing or expanding some industrial or public works facility than it is to wind up later needing to upgrade or change something. And of course when problems happen, the republic's leaders are required to invest all their energy in rectifying the situation.

Your assessment of the need to comply with the decisions that have been adopted is correct. Even now, many heads of enterprises have failed to change as much as they should have, despite the fundamental and important decisions the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have adopted over the last few years. If the problem was simply how to operate industrial or waste treatment facilities properly, we would be able to solve it in no time at all. But the truth is you could ask the question "Why did you do it that way?" for every one of the solutions we talked about earlier. And you might ask: "What about all the other fundamental solutions to problems we haven't talked about in this interview? Have we done everything possible to insure we don't make any new mistakes?" I would also add another question: "Why do the people whose job it is to deal with these issues spend all their time criticizing what others have done, when they are the ones who could enable us to find fast solutions to environmental protection problems?"

Naturally it is also true that, given the current situation, the critical comments are appropriate, since the republic's Council of Ministers, local government agencies, and, worse, the heads of industrial enterprises sometimes fail to adopt the integrated approach to solving environmental problems, or else fail to solve the problem in time. For example, as far back as 1981, inadequate planning at the Nairit scientific production association got in the way of a project to install and start up an installation to reburn the organic impurities found in the waste gas that results from acetic acid production, and now the same problems have to be dealt with all over again. And here is another example. The dust cleaning equipment at both the Spandaryanskiy Rock Crushing and Grading Plant and at the Armenian Ministry of Roads and Automotive Transport Yerevan Ferroconcrete Bridge Structure Plant is either inoperable or ineffective. And many cleaning facilities go on line behind schedule. Examples of this are Yerevan's aeration station, Sisian's waste treatment plant, a waste water disposal collector around Lake Sevan, and much more.

But automotive vehicle emissions cause the most damage to the environment of Armenia. Pollution from this source is more than twice as high as what comes from industrial and other polluters together. And this situation prevails despite the fact that in 1985 some of Armenia's vehicle fleet began using natural gas for fuel. A compressed gas facility was built and began operations for this purpose. And for a year and a half, we have been complying with CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions and receiving shipments of gasoline without tetraethyl lead in it. In accordance with resolutions adopted by the government of Armenia, Yerevan is finishing work on the development of an automated traffic control system that will ensure optimum traffic flows. And more than 200 automobile emissions inspection stations have been created.

Nonetheless, this is a vast and complex issue. Half-hearted efforts will not be much help in cutting down the more than 220 tons of harmful emissions dumped into Yerevan's environment.

All vehicle fleets will have to tighten control on their on-line vehicles and discipline people who violate environmental protection laws.

Of course we are all aware that many fleets and owners of personal automobiles are guilty of driving vehicles that produce a "smoke screen." Clearly they do not much care about properly tuning the engine or securing the right fuel, and thus do a great deal of damage to both society and themselves. And inspections have shown that there are even impurities in gasoline sold at gas stations. This is, of course, a job for Gosstandart agencies. A serious and honest attitude is going to be necessary before we can resolve the problem of supplying high-quality gasoline and diesel fuel. At the same time, because of the natural and climatic characteristics of our city, we must take more radical steps, some of which will be contrary to the interests of automobile enthusiasts and other vehicle users. We are counting on the understanding of and assistance from the residents of the city, since the issue may in fact be a pivotal one for the future of Yerevan.

I would also like to comment that construction of natural resource protection facilities in Armenia is not proceeding at a satisfactory level. Woefully inadequate funding was secured when water storage facilities were built, and 30 percent of the total waste water discharge last year was untreated. Yet funds to deal with this are so inadequate that the leaders of the republic are forced to appeal to the USSR government for assistance every year. We need to change the fundamental attitude of both purchasers and builders toward this important issue.

[Question] Party, government, and economic management agencies in the republic and various cities have adopted numerous good decisions that, unfortunately, end up not being completely implemented. It was thus no surprise when the Presidium of the USSR Council of

Ministers Commission on Environmental Protection and Natural Resource Conservation studied the extent to which environmental protection laws were being complied with in the Armenian SSR and concluded with a sharp critique of the effort to implement the appropriate decisions. I would like to know what weak areas you see in this effort. What needs to be done to insure decisions are implemented, what authority should be in charge? And could you discuss how effective the Armenian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection has been?

[Answer] First, I would like to reiterate that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have always showed the greatest appreciation for environmental protection concerns. They have made critical decisions that sometimes involved large monetary outlays and cuts in the output of very scarce and important products. Unfortunately, both we and the union ministries sometimes fail to implement these decisions on schedule. For this reason, inspection is a major issue.

The Armenian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, which was formed in late 1985, will be a big help in this respect. Over the last year and a half, the State Committee has done environmental impact inspections of more than 100 construction and modernization projects at enterprises and other facilities that affect the environment. A total of 2.8 million rubles in fines was levied in the wake of action taken against violators of environmental protection laws, over 500 mandatory fix-it orders were issued to various organizations, and hundreds of managers and officials were fined. Some cases were given to the procurator's office to permit individuals guilty of violating environmental laws to be held liable for their actions.

I would like to comment that despite its broad powers, the state committee has been experiencing difficulty with the parochial approach of both organizations using natural resources and state and department inspection agencies to ecological issues.

There is no doubt that these programs will make it possible to find better solutions to organizational problems make a dramatic step forward in protecting the environment from pollution.

[Question] Armenia was planning to build a water storage power station that would be on Khosrovskiy Park lands. Because of this, planners have been required to study the possibility of putting the station somewhere else. Could you tell us what stage the resolution of this issue is at?

[Answer] The 1,000 MW GAES is definitely Armenia's most important power production facility. When completed, the GAES will make it possible to use the capacities of the Zakavkazkaya Energy System at night, when it is unloaded, to pump water from the lower GAES reservoir to the upper one, while during peak

hours, when the system is under maximum load, power can be produced by releasing water from the upper to the lower reservoir. From an ecological perspective, the GAES is absolutely clean. Moreover, when it is operating it will eliminate the need to utilize additional generating capacities at thermal power plants during peak hours, thus sparing the atmosphere of the republic from another 30,000 tons of sulphide, carbon, and nitrogen compound emissions. Finally, there will no longer be any reason to fire the current level of about 500,000 tons of oil per year, thus saving us the equivalent of 10,000 tanker trucks of oil annually.

We have looked at 13 sites for the GAES. In choosing the final location, we did an objective comparative study of the proposals from the Transcaucasian republics in light of a host of technical and economic factors. One of the sites we studied is in an area that abuts the Khosrovskiy Park. Around seventeen hectares that are currently within the park lie on land that would be needed for the GAES. This includes ten hectares of unforested tract on a parcel that was included in a 4,000 hectare package added to the park by an Armenian SSR Council of Ministers resolution in 1986, and seven hectares from the old park.

The study concluded that the park location was more competitive in technical and economic terms than the sites proposed by the adjacent republics. If we fail to allot the land necessary for the project, we will lose the GAES and be forced to compensate for the drop in power by building a thermal power plant, with all its drawbacks: emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere; and the need to truck in fuel.

In light of these points, we have a lot of thinking to do, and we need to reexamine the issue before we reject the GAES.

[Question] The people of Armenia are extremely concerned about Lake Sevan and the Arpa-Sevan Tunnel, parts of which are on the verge of collapse, with the result that the entire structure has been under repair for a lengthy period of time. What specific projects are underway now to save Lake Sevan? What are its prospects, and what is being done to save its unique first-class game trout? Finally, without wishing to diminish the heroism and courage of the men who drove the tunnel under such difficult condition, I would like to know whose fault the problems it is having are.

[Answer] First I would like to state that the lowering of the lake's water level is a sad example of what happens when a single problem (how to produce more power) is solved impulsively, superficially, and without holistic consideration of the possible ramifications. This point has been frequently discussed, and I do not wish to belabor it here. Nonetheless, I am not one of those who believe the tunnel designers and builders are guilty, even when I study their work from today's perspective, decades after the fact. The republic's government



decided to determine the actual condition of the tunnel and identify ways it could be restored, and created a special commission—made up of the country's leading experts in hydraulic engineering—to do this. Its findings were published and its members appeared on television. The commission determined that tunnel section deformation resulted from numerous objective factors: the local geological engineering environment; changes in rock formation properties as the result of water saturation; and other factors not considered by the planners and designers, who had no precedents to help them. Some of the construction organizations were guilty of departing from specifications, but this was not a major factor in the current problems.

In accordance with the commission's recommendations, Armgidroproyekt and Gidrospeksstroy planned repair programs that were implemented at an accelerated pace, yet monitored carefully. We are confident that by the end of 1987—in what is a very tight time frame—we will be able to finish repair work and the tunnel will be ready for operations. So far, a tremendous amount of tunnel inspection and preventive maintenance has been done.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is in charge of supervising the course of the effort.

I would like to say a few words about the steps undertaken in recent years to raise the level of Lake Sevan. As you know, there have been no releases of water from Lake Sevan for power production purposes since 1979. In addition, almost a billion cubic meters of water have been pumped through the Arpa-Sevan tunnel to the lake, thus preventing a further 70 centimeters of drop in the water level. The republic also has been implementing a major program of reservoir and irrigation system construction. When finished, the system will permit irrigated agriculture to be expanded without increasing water releases from Lake Sevan. The rise in the lake's level has resulted from other factors as well: the start-up of the Ranchparskaya and Azizbekovskaya pumping stations; well water intake in the Echmiadzinskiy rayon; upgrading irrigation systems; and other measures.

In the wake of this effort, the level of the lake did not change between 1981 and 1986, while it had dropped by 75 centimeters over the previous decade. In fact, it is expected that by 1 January 1987, the lake's water level will have risen by 10 centimeters.

Releases of water from Lake Sevan were cut from an average 465 million cubic meters per year during the 11th Five-Year Plan to 390 million cubic meters in 1986, and to 260 million cubic meters in 1987. If we consider that 200-250 million cubic meters of water will come through the Arpa-Sevan tunnel annually from 1988 on, we can begin expecting a 30 centimeter annual rise in water level the same year, while the commencement of operations in the Vorotan-Arpa tunnel will mean another 10 to 20 centimeters per year.

Efforts are underway to help USSR government agencies consolidate their Sevan basin environmental protection and natural resource conservation program faster. The program itself contains provisions for water management projects that would raise the level of Lake Sevan by six meters, dramatically improve water quality in the lake, and revive the industrial importance of its valuable fish species. To preserve their gene pool, Sevan's trout have been transplanted to Lakes Sevlich, Aknalich, and others.

Given this situation, the issue of preventing the pollution of Lake Sevan by industrial, domestic, and agricultural waste discharges is of paramount importance.

The republic's leaders have adopted numerous supplementary plans to accelerate construction of water management and natural resource conservation facilities that would prevent pollution of the lake.

For many years, the shortage of funds allocated to Armenia for "public services" caused construction of the sewage collection system ringing Lake Sevan to proceed at an unsatisfactory pace. At present, the only section in operation is the Sevan-Tsovaguykh-Arevik one, while construction of the more important Sevan-Kamo-Martuni-Vardenis section has not even begun yet.

In October of this year, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution to accelerate construction of a sewage collection system and expand existing waste treatment facilities in the town of Kakhsi. The involvement of the Main Armenian Water Facilities Construction Agency, Armenian Gas Facilities Construction Agency, and Transcaucasian Pipeline Construction Agency has been coordinated with the appropriate union ministries.

The USSR Council of Ministers has agreed to permit the above construction in 1988-89, with the 120 million rubles needed for it to come from the republic's total capital investment budget.

When the sewage collection system is finished, it will be possible to completely prevent industrial and public services discharges from contaminating the lake. But the pesticide and mineral fertilizer run-off from agricultural tracts is still a serious problem. The use of the most toxic fertilizers and pesticides has already been banned along the shore, and a ban on all mineral fertilizer and pesticide use is being studied. Organic techniques and treatments would be substituted, even if doing so resulted in significantly lower crop yields.

[Question] The Sevan problem got people to start thinking about a "Sevan National Park." Several years have passed since a resolution to create such a park was adopted, yet the purpose, function, and overall character of the park have still not been made clear. For example,

the park administrators are not in charge of so much as a single square meter of park territory. How can operational effectiveness coexist with the absence of legal jurisdiction?

[Answer] The Sevan National Park was created in March of 1978 by an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers resolution. The park's purpose was to: protect, conserve, and restore natural resources; provide an area for worker recreation and educational tourism; develop and implement scientific conservation techniques that would permit recreational usage of the land; and to preserve and disseminate information about historical and cultural monuments and structures of ethnographic, architectural, and historical significance.

Five preserves and ten protected areas will have to be created within the park framework to protect and restock the more valuable animal and bird species in the Sevan basin. At the same time, provisions have been made for appropriate recreation areas in order to create an adequate environment for leisure activities.

I would, however, like to note that the resolution has not been completely implemented. Certain ministries, departments, and local council of people's deputies ispolkoms have not dealt properly with the issue of allocating the necessary land to the Sevan National Park. On 9 July 1987, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers was forced to re-adopt a resolution allocating lands, forests, and other tracts (totalling 8,512 hectares) to the park and establishing a wildlife preserve encompassing 7,200 hectares of the lake itself. These lands are currently in the process of being transferred to the national park. At the same time, work is underway on a plan to use the national park as a foundation on which to build a unified authority that would protect, conserve, and restore the natural resources of Lake Sevan. And we are also working on an extensive program to upgrade facilities in the area around the lake, forest it, create more sports areas, expand commercial facilities, etc.

[Question] Fadey Tachatovich, I have another question that has been bothering a lot of people since the Chernobyl tragedy; that is, how reliable is the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant. The question concerns more than just the technical aspects of reliability. The tragedy at Chernobyl and other major accidents that have taken place demonstrate that a careless attitude towards one's job and slipshod performance of basic duties can have disastrous consequences. Could you tell me what the AES community has learned from Chernobyl, what additional safety measures have been taken here, and what the overall future of nuclear power is in Armenia?

[Answer] Of course reliability and the safe operation of the Armenian AES, which is located in the densely populated Ararat Valley, a mere 30 kilometers from Yerevan, are critical issues that receive the most serious

attention. As everyone knows, the tragedy at the Chernobyl AES resulted from the criminal negligence of the plant's personnel, who committed a series of gross violations of plant standard operating procedure. This has forced all of us to re-examine many operational and technical issues. During a prolonged shut-down of the Armenian AES in 1986, a considerable amount of technical work was done to enhance the operational safety of the plant. In addition, personnel operating procedure was studied to identify ways mistakes could be prevented, and operational personnel were retrained in the latest AES operating principles. Together, this has made AES operations in the 1986-87 fall and winter seasons safe while providing power for both the functioning of the economy and public consumption purposes. Since 1987, work has been underway to completely overhaul the Armenian AES in order to maximize its reliability and make the plant conform to the highest current standards. This effort will continue in future years.

Next let me deal with the question of expanding nuclear power production in Armenia. We have already been told that construction on the second phase of the Armenian AES has been stopped, and that there will be no further development of nuclear power in the republic.

We will compensate for the lost capacities with thermal power stations and the GAES, if it is built.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that no one could possibly be 100 percent satisfied with what has been done to solve the problem of protecting the environment of our republic. The efforts we have already undertaken must be carefully integrated. Projects must be implemented in a responsible way, and there must be close joint supervision of all work. This is the only formula that will give us success as its answer.

13189

#### **Effect of Glasnost on Corruption, Literature, Emigration in Armenia**

18380401 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 23 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Perch Zeytuntsyan entitled "Article of Faith" published under the heading "Anticipating the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: Arguments, Observations, Suggestions"]

[Text] Let us not air our dirty linen. For many years we have adhered to this psychological principle, holding to this unswerving conviction, and have become accustomed to both the sight and aroma of accumulated dirty line. Glasnost shook the foundations of this unhealthy psychology, and the Soviet national press began an open, bold discussion addressing the negative aspects of our lives. And although a great deal was already known to all of us, democratization of the press evoked a great deal of satisfaction, if only because one could make one's voice heard and was no longer considered a mere cog in a

machine. In the past one could "read" all that day's newspapers in 10 minutes and learn how much prosperity and happiness was distributed per capita, while now one is hard put to find time to read through them all. And what is the result? Has our conduct deteriorated? Has our prestige lessened? Were we disgraced when we honestly revealed to the whole world the terrible sufferings of that brilliant scientist Vavilov during the dark days of the cult of personality? On the contrary, our country's prestige abroad has never been so high; we have never enjoyed more respect in the world than we do today. Recently CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev and President Reagan signed an historic agreement, which was a result of the prestige of and proud respect for our country inspired in the West by our country's new ethics and morality. A similar, short-lived period occurred during N.S. Khrushchev's tenure in office; unfortunately, however, things were left unfinished. Perhaps there are those who hope that this too is one more short-lived campaign, that these days will darken and pass. It is not romantic optimism which drives me to disbelieve that possibility, but rather the reality that time can no longer wait. Why are we sure, and this time correctly, that the time has come to address all of our shortcomings, and on the basis of what would we doubt the imperative demand of today?

I wrote these lines with faith and inspiration, but I was immediately driven to ask myself a question, a question which, I am sure, cannot escape the reader either, about how things presently stand in Armenia, and how it happens during the years of stagnation and failure to move that our press, our collective intellect and behavior, promptly followed the lead of the "center," since who would dare stray from the adopted line, no matter how crooked a path that line followed: Even today we often avoid following the good example and feign questionable independence. Today's "independence" is just as repugnant as was yesterday's dependence. With one difference, however: yesterday's response was understandable, while today's is impossible to understand. Is perhaps one of the reasons, the fifth or the tenth reason, fear of our experienced, campaign-hardened professional cavaliers? I have no doubt whatsoever that they too will try to take advantage of the opportunities presented by glasnost, but under today's conditions they will surface faster and their teeth will not be as sharp and dangerous. So what is the problem? Why do we not want to clean house? Where are our patriotic speeches? What is happening to our declarations of love? Is it not disgraceful that we are simply incapable of advancing from spoken to "written" words? Do we lack boldness and ability? Are we being impeded by that servile inner censor and the inertia of the old? Perhaps one of these factors and perhaps all of them are at work. "We are a community of housewives; we are even found of doing the laundry and clearing the dinner table. But that love of cleanliness has not gone beyond contribution to the family. The public arena is always full of dust and dirt." These lines were written by Grigor Zohrap about a 100 years ago. There are many proofs of Zohrap's immortality, and I would

not want this brief paragraph to become one of the proofs of his contemporary appeal.

We talk a lot about bribery, which has spread like a cancer in our republic. Bribery and unearned income have entered practically all aspects of our lives, grasping us in a tight chokehold. We have become accustomed to this situation. In the past the bribetaker or the person living by dishonest means would hide out of embarrassment, trying to avoid the public eye, while today that person walks right next to us, head held high; he often holds a high position and makes public speeches about the grievous situation brought about by bribery. It is this cynicism which is frightening! Also frightening is our tolerance, which is merely a variation of cynicism. But as they say, we have accepted the roll of life's dice, willing to suffer and accept what was meant for our generation, and we bear our cross with inexplicable patience. But what about tomorrow's generation? What about those youngsters who know elementary arithmetic no matter how poorly they do in school, know how much their parents earn and how they live in relation to those earnings. Arithmetic is not needed here; everything is plainly evident. And I am troubled by the thought that our children are in danger: on the one hand they face an ecological peril and on the other hand a moral danger. It took only a few years for bribery and theft ("unearned income"—what a delicate way of putting it) to ruin us, but just think how many years are needed to cure their consequences.

"Experts" at LITERATURNAYA GAZETA adjudged "Man and the Law" to be one of the three best TV programs for the week of 30 November-6 December. In this program a number of militia officials were exposed for accepting bribes. As I recall, the bribe figure amounted to 10,000 rubles. I can imagine the ironic smile on the face of our own millionaires as they watched that program and how they are right now laughing at my naivete and gullibility as they read these lines. And they have the right to do so—if not across the board, then at least at this moment.

In the summer it is sad to see thousands of people standing in line for fruits and vegetables in the stifling heat. It is truly a sad, degrading sight. And yet one day a vague, indeterminate feeling of joy gradually and imperceptibly welled up within me, for I realized that this meant that there are people, and a great many people, who are simply unable to pay the high prices demanded at the kolkhoz market and are forced to depend on the state stores. I beg forgiveness of my fellow citizens: in the presence of all their sufferings, the pushing and shoving, amidst an ocean of patience, listening to the insolent words spoken by certain thick-necked salesclerks with their ruble-stuffed pockets, I nevertheless cannot suppress my guilty joy and say that they are a source of comfort. I am comforted by the fact of their honestly earned income. Please do not get me wrong: of course a person's honesty is not determined by whether or not he or she shops at the kolkhoz market. And I derive comfort



from my naive "discovery," born from a mundane observation: this is proof of the existence of a healthy core of our people, a fact which, no matter how burdened we become with the tiring boredom of our lives, we have no right to forget.

Let us state right out, and perhaps we should shout it out, that our law enforcement agencies have never been so discredited as they have been in the last two decades. One can endure anything, simply grit one's teeth and bear it, but when the law is being trampled by those whose very job is to uphold the law, this is most disenchanting, to put it mildly, stripping one of any feeling of safety and security. Loss of faith in justice is the most dangerous symptom of the sickness of demoralization and immorality.

I realize that there are certain reasons for these troubling phenomena and that it would be dishonest to ignore them and merely to record the bare facts. I realize that our salaries and wages are quite low at the present time. In spite of this, however, the consequences greatly outweigh the reasons. In addition, this explanation by no means signifies justification of the consequences. If that were so, a great many pages of history would have justification. The point I am trying to make has nothing whatsoever to do with maximalism, but proceeds from a code of human conduct which was formulated in antiquity.

There is another painful phenomenon: emigration. In all truth I must state candidly that although in its final outcome repatriation was an important historical event, in connection with the unification of our people, it took place at the wrong time, immediately after the war, when the country had not yet had a chance to take a breath and heal its wounds. For that reason repatriation experienced painful convulsions. This confession must be made aloud so that we will also be able to speak truthfully about the painful and not entirely unequivocal phenomenon of emigration. One would think that democratization of our lives would have fostered a decrease in the flow of emigration. But why has emigration not diminished but, on the contrary, increased? Because for the present time we are in the midst of events which are not controlled by local authorities. If democracy and perestroika had become a reality in our republic, and if people could see and believe this new fact, then logic dictates that emigration would at least have diminished. I do not deny that there are those among us, even among our leaders, who shrug their shoulders indifferently: if they want to leave, let them leave—the people will not suffer from a few thousand persons greater or fewer. Who says the people will not suffer? This may be true in some cases, but an Armenian, who thanks to favorable conditions of history has finally been given the fortunate opportunity to live with his own nation under a common roof, has no moral right to think that way. It is our moral obligation to address the

question of emigration in a serious manner, and to consider the issue not only in general terms but also taking into consideration the happiness of each individual family.

The life-giving atmosphere of glasnost and democracy has dictated reevaluation of many things in art and literature as well, a domain in which we have long since yielded our position to others, and this applies to the context of competition within the rest of the Soviet Union as well; regrettably we no longer have our reputation of the past. It is true that literature and art are created by individuals, but the proper atmosphere, the incentive if you will, and the organizational efforts which would encourage the birth of new individualism do not exist.

Works which were forbidden for years have finally been taken out of desk drawers. Works of writers who in the past were deprived of a readership have been published. And what has emerged from these drawers? Were these drawers shameful to contemplate, empty? Are they works of writers of talent and quality which have been kept from publication in the past? Who is forbidding us to publish writings or stage plays? Is it once again our "firm integrity and rectitude," our old ailment of being more Catholic than the Pope?

Citizenship, which yesterday was merely a slogan and was given only lip-service encouragement, today has every chance of becoming practical reality. The unhealthy phenomena which have permeated our society must be "cured" not only by governmental authorities but, to be specific, by writers as well. This has been the sacred responsibility of literature from the beginning of time. Who in our classical literature is one of the most patriotic figures as far as the Armenian reader is concerned? Is it perhaps Raffi? If so, let us do the favor of examining Raffi's patriotism not one-sidedly but with a comprehensive approach. "Some of my friends advised me not to publish that novel," wrote Raffi, in reference to "Khachogoghi hishatakarane" [Memoirs of a Scoundrel]. "But that would have been tantamount to a sick man hiding his sores with shame, sores which would rot and infect the entire body." Practically all the great writers maintained such a healthy position.

It is incomprehensible to be that glasnost would be bounded by dates, that is running from such and such a year to such and such a year. Glasnost cannot be fully meaningful or provide much inspiration if it is referred to as applying to this moment only and does not refer to history of the near and distant past. It has long been known that blank pages remain in our history, that many chapters need to be reexamined and rewritten, addressing forbidden or undesirable dates and facts (does it not sound absurd?).

I do not know whether these statements I have made, which are a mere whisper compared to articles appearing in the Soviet national-level press, will be published as is.

If the reader reads these lines, may they be her/his and my motto, that no editorial scissors were put to work, and, God willing, may never again be put to work. It means that there is still hope that glasnost, the fresh breeze of democracy and perestroika will finally, for us as well, become an integral way of life and way of thinking, because it simply cannot be put off any longer. Need I state that this expectation proceeds from a son's love of his homeland and people and from a burning desire to look toward tomorrow with confidence?

03024/06662

**Arpa-Sevan Water Tunnel Repair Completed**  
*18300123b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Jan 88p 1*

[Armenpress report: "The Tunnel Has Been Restored"]

[Text] Construction of a unique hydraulic engineering complex to channel the Arpa River to Lake Sevan was completed in 1981. Over the entire period of its operation, the lake received about one billion cubic meters of water and that prevented a drop of 70 centimeters in the level of the Sevan.

In 1985, the concrete tunnel lining on various sections of number 7 and number 8 faces began to deteriorate (cracks, minor failures, and lifting of the concrete tunnel chute). At the end of January, 1986 the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution to stop the channeling of water through the tunnel. A qualified commission made up of some of the country's noted scientists and specialists and leaders of scientific and construction organizations from Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi and the republic was formed. The commission drew up specific proposals for the most rapid elimination of the damage and deformation which had appeared, and developed measures to increase the reliability of future tunnel operations.

Engineering and technical conditions connected with the great depth of the dig, with a change in the characteristics of the rocks when saturated with water, and also violation of the hydraulic method of tunnel operation were the reasons for the damage.

Recently there was a meeting of the State Commission for Acceptance of Repairs to the Arpa-Sevan, chaired by Yu. Dzhevadyan, Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources for the republic.

The record of the proceedings noted that the standard of repair and restoration work conducted on number 7 and number 8 faces was good and in compliance with the design developed by the "Armgidroproekt" and "Gidrospestroy" Institutes. In extent of preparation, the work meets all construction norms and regulations requirements for normal work and the operational

acceptance of similar projects. Restoration work carried out on the tunnel allows the carrying capacity of the entire complex to be increased.

The commission was made up of some of the country's noted specialists, including: N. V. Dmitriyev, chief of "Soyuzgidrospestroy"; Professor V. Mostkov, doctor of technical sciences and department head at the Moscow Institute for the Construction Industry imeni Kuybyshev; A. Marinichev, director of the "Gidrospestroyproekt" Institute; Professor Yu. Zaretskiy, doctor of technical sciences and head of the laboratory of the All-Union "Gidroproekt" Institute; A. Simonyan, candidate of technical sciences and head of the laboratory of the Georgian Scientific Research Institute for Power and Hydraulic Engineering Construction; and Kh. Babayan, director of the "Armgidroproekt" Institute.

The length of the repaired section of number 7 face was 2860 meters; 3390 on face number 8.

All work to preserve the natural resources of the Sevan and to improve the ecology of the lake was conducted under the permanent control of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR. The multi-national collective of workers and engineering and technical workers displayed a high degree of enthusiasm for the work and completed the entire volume of major construction and installation work on time.

Throughout the course of the work, representatives from the customer, the design organizations and the laboratory of the Georgian Scientific Research Institute for Power and Hydraulic Engineering Construction were there along with the builders and installers. This provided the opportunity for the work to be carried out at a high level of quality.

Along with the "Arpa-Sevan" management collective, "Gidrospestroy" organizations from Belorussia and Tadzhikistan and others contributed significantly to the restoration work. The "Armgidroehnergostroy" administration (G. Ovanesyan, manager) and its Charentsavan'skiy reinforced concrete construction plant (M. Yesayan, director), and the special construction and installation administration of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources played an active part.

After the timely completion of the hydraulic engineering repair work, significant organizational and technical measures were carried out to stop the leaking of water from the Sevan. As a result of this, the level of the lake was raised by 10 centimeters compared to last year. At the present time, the tunnel is being readied for the spring flood.

13254

**UzSSR: Violent Crime Against Vehicle Owners Sparks Concern**

18300123a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
24 Dec 87 p 3

[PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent S. Sadykov interviews R.F. Tagirov, public prosecutor and criminologist, on crimes against vehicle owners; "Victims of Profit"; first three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Transportation cooperatives made up of pools of private vehicle owners have begun to operate in the republic's cities. There is an impressive argument in favor of such cooperatives — the long lines at taxi stands in Tashkent being one example. State vehicle enterprises obviously cannot cope during rush hour.

Recently there were several alarming phone calls to the editorial staff reporting that: "Rumors are circulating about assaults on vehicle owners..."

The Uzbek SSR Public Prosecutor's Office advised our correspondent to speak with public prosecutor and criminologist R. F. Tagirov who was assigned to investigate these crimes.

[Answer] I want to emphasize right away that, since the day that the USSR law on individual labor activity came into force, there has not been a single assault against a driver in the city's taxi cooperatives. But the very creation of the cooperatives, along with a strengthening of GAI control over private vehicle use in the city, forced those who like to earn illegal, secret profits out to the country routes. They are prepared to take anyone wherever he wants to go for a large sum and they have turned out to be the victims of crimes committed on remote roads, far from populated points.

Here is a typical example. On the evening of October 22, Tashkent resident Mr. X. left home in his private vehicle and never returned. His charred body was found in the Syrdarinskaya Oblast jurisdiction. For 100 rubles, Mr. X. agreed to drive passengers to the city of Dzhetyysay. He was killed on the way and his vehicle was stolen and

stripped for spare parts. The criminals cut up what was left of the automobile and threw it in a canal in the Dzhizakskaya Oblast jurisdiction. According to evidence from the investigation, the crime was committed by a group of people and all of them have been arrested.

[Question] Since the group has been put out of commission, can we count on having seen the last of these assaults on drivers?

[Answer] I would refrain from stating that categorically here. In the first place, this is not the only group which has been put out of commission and robberies and murders committed by other people against drivers of transport vehicles have been uncovered. Present criminal law resources permit us to guarantee that no one who commits such crimes will escape punishment. But I would like to say something about the reasons that these robbery assaults against drivers of private vehicles have become more frequent.

First of all, about the victims: in using private automobiles to extract illegal profits, they themselves are committing a crime. Article 180 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code provides for accountability for this crime. That is why they prefer illegal fares further out from the busier city routes. Public transportation services within the city and between cities is poorly organized. As a rule, you might as well not wait for a bus after eight o'clock in the evening. Private tradesmen smartly earn their living making up for this. But criminals also exploit this.

Here is another detail: most of the time, drivers of "Zhiguli" cars are subjected to these assaults. This is connected with the severe shortage of and exorbitant prices for spare parts for this automobile caused by speculators. Thus prevention of this type of crime is not just the business of the law enforcement organs, but a great deal depends on the efficient operation of transport and trade organizations and domestic services enterprises. If their problems are resolved, there will be no grounds for crimes of this type.

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